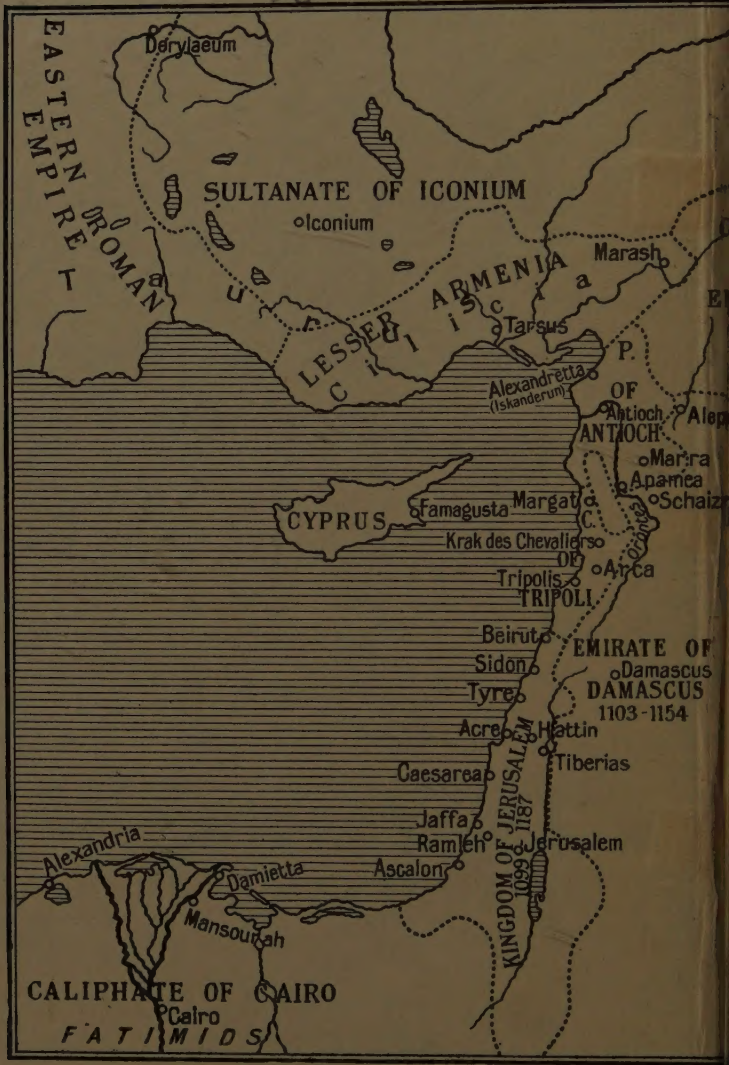
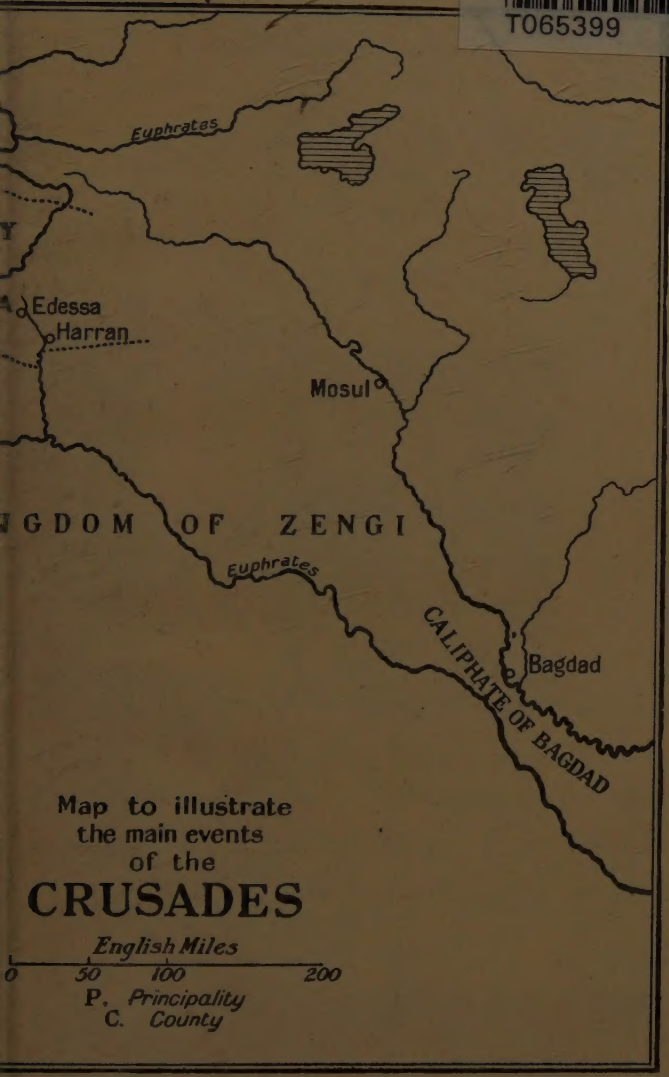

EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE
Dorylaeum
SULTANATE OF ICONIUM
Iconium
LESSER ARMENIA
Cilicia
Marash
Tarsus
Alexandretta (Iskanderum)
P. OF ANTIOCH
Antioch
Aleppo
Marra
Apamea
Schaiz
CYPRUS
Famagusta
Margat
Krak des Chevaliers
Tripolis
TRIPOLI
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Acre
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
1103-1154
Damascus
Hattin
Tiberias
Caesarea
Jaffa
Ramleh
Jerusalem
Ascalon
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
1099-1187
Alexandria
Damietta
Mansourah
CALIPHATE OF CAIRO
Cairo
FATIMIDS

Christ Church
T065399



J/XVI. 3. 132d

WITHDRAWN FROM
CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY
OXFORD

CHRIST CHURCH LIBRARY
OXFORD OX1 1DP

The "Teaching of History" Series

General Editor—JOHN BUCHAN

CRUSADES, COMMERCE AND ADVENTURE

No. 26

THE SIEGE OF CHÂTEAU-GAILLARD.

(*E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française* (1857), iii. 98.)

Crusades, Commerce and Adventure

BY

G. G. COULTON,

LITT.D., D.LITT., F.B.A.

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, LTD.
LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

IST CHURCH
LIBRARY
OXFORD

First published January 1930.

CONTENTS

I. The Council of Clermont. . . . 9
II. The People's Crusade 25
III. The Princes' Crusade—I 37
IV. The Princes' Crusade—II. . . . 49
V. The Princes' Crusade—III . . . 70
VI. The Second and Third Crusades . . 82
VII. A Soldier and a Saint 95
VIII. The Fourth Crusade—I 113
IX. The Fourth Crusade—II . . . 128
X. The Fourth Crusade—III. . . . 146
XI. The Fifth to the Eighth Crusade . 164
XII. Results of the Crusades 176
XIII. Commerce and Adventure. . . . 193
XIV. A Second Friar 209
XV. From Friar to Merchant 222
XVI. Sea Trade 237
Index 251

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Siege of Château-Gaillard . . *Frontispiece*
A Western Artist's Conception of Constantinople . 32
The Walls of Antioch as they still exist . . . 53
Siege Tower and Greek Fire 73
The " Krak des Chevaliers " restored . . . 84
The Bronze Horses of St. Mark's, Venice . . 150
St. Louis 168
St. Louis in Armour 171
An Eastern Brocade of the Crusading Period. . . 181
Conference between Saracens and Crusaders . . 183
The Angel Gabriel appearing to Mohammed . . 188
A Tartar Archer 203
A Tartar Warrior 207
Odoric preaching to the Heathen 223
The Krahnentor (Crane-Gate) at Dantzig . . . 244
Jacques Cœur's Ship 247
A Caravel of the Fifteenth Century 249

CRUSADES, COMMERCE AND ADVENTURE

CHAPTER I

THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT

In November 1095 the Pope held a great and solemn council, not in Italy, as Popes had so often done before, but in Central France, at Clermont, in Auvergne. His title was Urban II.; contemporaries believed him to be the first French Pope, forgetting Sylvester II. of nearly a century before. He was of noble family, and had begun as a monk in the great reformed abbey of Cluny; it was natural, therefore, that he should unite the ideals of a monk and a knight. He was at that moment fighting with the Emperor Henry IV. on the question of investitures, and with the King of France for his adulterous marriage; and here, at this Council of Clermont, he solemnly condemned the king. This was not quite so bold as it might seem at first sight; for the King of France in those days had little immediate power except over Paris and the Île de France and a few adjacent lands; elsewhere, the great feudatories were almost independent sovereigns. Yet, even so, it was a bold move for a French Pope to come and condemn him at Clermont; and at that same council Urban went on to a move which was still more characteristic of the knight and the monk: he let loose the Holy War. The idea had been in the air; Sylvester II. may have

dreamed of it vaguely, and Gregory VII. had at one moment planned it seriously ; but now at last the call came clearly, if not with full premeditation.

Abbot Guibert of Nogent, one of the most learned men of that day, has left us a brief account of this council. The concourse was immense ; more than two hundred prelates attended the council ; knights and barons had come in from all the district round, and so many thousands assembled, even at this inclement season, that they had to erect huts or tents in the open field. Urban showed himself worthy of the occasion ; Guibert is lost in admiration of the Pope's scholarship ; " his ready command of the Latin speech was no less than the nimbleness which any lawyer might show in his own tongue." Then, from a scaffold in the market-place, he addressed this immense crowd, and even those who could not hear caught their enthusiasm from the rest. The Truce of God was re-enacted ; this had always been rather a pious ideal than a law strictly enforced in practice ; and, even now, this curb upon war was far less effectual than the diversion of bellicose energies from home to the East. " Hitherto," said Urban, " ye have waged unjustifiable warfare, slaying each other and sometimes wielding mad weapons for the sake merely of greed or of pride, whereby ye have earned everlasting death and the ruin of certain damnation. Now we set before you wars which have in themselves the glorious reward of martyrdom, and the halo of present and everlasting fame." Thus, as Guibert was able to boast, " the world in its last decrepitude " could now surpass, for once, even the greatest achievements of antiquity. " If we consider the wars of the ancient heathens, and with what labour of arms they conquered their kingdoms, we shall find that their might and their achievements are, by God's grace, far below comparison with ours. . . . For in our days God hath instituted a holy war, so that both belted knights and the undisciplined herd, who, after the fashion of the heathens of old, were accustomed to slaughter each other, should now find a new way of

earning salvation, whereby they needed not altogether to choose monastic life after the ordinary pattern, nor any religious profession which would compel them to leave the world, but would be enabled in some measure to earn God's grace under their accustomed freedom and their ordinary dress, and by the exercise of their wonted occupations." For centuries past it had been the curse of Europe that men would kill each other; let this slaughter be diverted now to heathen enemies. "The end of the world is near," said the Pope. . . . "The days of Antichrist are at hand . . . if, therefore, when he cometh, he shall find no Christians [in the East], as at this moment there are scarce any such, then there will be no man to stand up against him." To these exhortations Urban added a promise of richer reward than had ever been offered before: God's complete pardon of all past sins to all confessed and contrite soldiers in this holy war. Thus the dying crusader might be sure of a martyr's crown; meanwhile his family and his possessions, during his absence, were protected by the most solemn curse upon any man who should meddle with them. The matter and the manner of Urban's speech carried the whole multitude away; they cried, "It is God's will!" sewed crosses upon their garments in sign of their vow, and were ready to march under the Pope or any one whom he might appoint. He deputed the leadership to his Legate, Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, and fixed the departure of the army for August 15, 1096. Nobles and clergy and common folk then dispersed, to spread their own enthusiasm from province to province.

The immense success of this appeal seems, for the moment, to have surprised the Pope himself; and to us, at this distance of time, it is worth serious thought; for, of all chapters in mediæval history, none is more characteristically and completely mediæval than this of the Crusades. Let us first consider the instinctive and irreflective impulses which lie behind this movement, since these are even more important, perhaps, than any

reflective and avowed policy that can be traced. How had this great mass of inflammable stuff been collected, to blaze up the moment some great man should apply his torch?

There had long been a gradual expansion of energies, in the East as well as the West, which naturally ended by bringing East and West into conflict. Ever since the decay of the Roman Empire, Europe had been like a great vat into which barrel after barrel had been poured from outside; all kinds of different ingredients, rough and dissimilar, but with a great deal of native strength in them. For centuries before this Council of Clermont these materials had all been working together in their stormy fashion; the fermentation was now at its height; and, before the liquor finally settles down, it will seethe over. From this point of view, the Crusades are the most startling symptom of that great movement throughout Europe, that great revival of the year 1000, almost as important in its way as the later revival which we call the Renaissance. For, much as the significance of this exact year 1000 has often been exaggerated on the authority of a single chronicler whose words have been partly misunderstood, yet, in fact, it does happen to mark, roughly, a real epoch in history. Apart from the nightmares of approaching Antichrist and the Day of Judgment which haunted every generation of the Middle Ages (we have just seen this in Urban's own speech), there really had been a somewhat more definite expectation of this kind about the year 1000; and the only mistake is to exaggerate this. Moreover, this expectation was partly justified by the fact that this period was, in a rough and approximate way, a real turning-point in history. Down to that date, we trace manifest decay and only fitful recovery. The barbarian invaders were being gradually civilized; but there were terrible reactions, as some fresh invader burst again over Europe —Saracen, Lombard, Magyar, Slav, and Norman. But, by or about the beginning of the eleventh century, these new invasions have ended. The coronation of

Stephen as King of Hungary, in the exact year 1000, marks the Christianization of the Magyar. Lombards and Normans were already Christianized; Slav and Saracen very seldom gained any ground after that date; and, on the whole, they steadily lost ground. This process can best be traced by going all round the map of Europe. The *Slavs*, though they pushed to the Elbe in 983, during the infancy of Otto III., yet never got farther; and before the end of the eleventh century Germany had not only reconquered her former frontiers, but was pushing steadily eastwards. In *South Italy* and Sicily the Saracens had lost ground steadily. In 916 their great camp near Naples was destroyed; and exactly a century later, in 1016, the Normans began their conquest of Southern Italy; in 1090 they finally conquered Sicily also from the Saracens. *Sardinia* was taken from the Saracens by the Pisans in that same year, 1016; and two years later (1018), the *Spaniards*, with Norman help, consolidated the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. A good half of the Peninsula was thus Christianized; the Cid, the great hero of the wars against the Moslems, was born about 1030, and the whole of this century was marked by a steady Christian advance in Spain.

Moreover, side by side with all these territorial gains, there was a still more definite progress of civilization in Europe during the eleventh century. One phrase of the Cluniac chronicler, Ralph Glaber, has become celebrated: The world of the early eleventh century seemed in haste to clothe itself anew with "a white garment of churches." This was only one symptom of a whole advancing tide of culture; a tide which was in full force when the Normans conquered England, and which is marked in literature by such names as Lanfranc, Anselm, Abailard, and St. Bernard. The Norman Conquest and the investiture struggle were two definite phases of this same movement. William's venture and success, like the almost simultaneous conquest of Sicily by his fellow-Normans, were

tokens of the expansive forces on the continent of Europe. Neither of them can be attributed exclusively to the personal qualities of the Norman chiefs or their followers; both were due also, in a great measure, to those arts of war and peace which the Normans had learned, since their settlement in Neustria, from their fellow-subjects of the French king. If, again, Pope and Emperor quarrelled so bitterly about investitures, and if the fight was so long and uncertain, this was partly because Papacy and Empire were now far stronger institutions than they had been a century ago. The Empire was no longer dependent on the personal qualities of a Charles the Great, and ready to drop to pieces at his death. The Papacy, again, was no longer subject to such alternations of personal degradation and political weakness as in the past. Moreover, the great European nationalities were now forming. France, under the Capets, had come into the forefront of European history; it is not mere local patriotism which makes Guibert call his history *God's Dealings through the Franks*; the Crusades were as definitely a French movement as the rise of Gothic architecture was. England and South Italy, again, under the Normans had gained a vigour and a European importance which they had not possessed before. Everywhere, then, we find overflowing energy in Europe; and this will now be met by a counter-current from the East.

The Greek Emperors in the tenth century had won back a good deal of ground from the Mohammedans, especially Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, between 963 and 975. But this was mainly because the Mohammedans themselves were effete; the successors of the Khalifs were as unworthy as the successors of Charles the Great. Now, in the eleventh century, there rose a fiercer and more terrible Mohammedan power—the Seljukian Turks. These were nomads from those inexhaustible steppes of Central Asia; hardy, cunning, and unscrupulous, like their kinsmen the Huns of Attila, and the Magyars of German history. In fifty years these

Turks had advanced from Khorassan to the borders of Egypt; the fermenting West was confronted with this ferment in the East.

In Asia Minor the Turks had conquered most of the land before 1071, the year in which they also took Jerusalem. Then the Greek Emperor Romanus, who had already begun to turn back this tide of invasion, collected an army which contemporaries estimated at 100,000 men, and seemed likely to secure a decisive victory. But the Turks, though inferior in numbers, were enormously superior in mobility; the heterogeneous army of Romanus was in many parts insubordinate or even treacherous; he himself showed rashness in action; and the result was a crushing defeat, which practically sealed the fate of Asia Minor. From that time forward this Turkish rule in Asia Minor blocked the ordinary land route for pilgrims and merchants; and the Turks who ruled at Jerusalem were far less generous than their Arab predecessors in allowing access to the Holy Sepulchre. In these circumstances it was most natural that the Greek Emperors should feel their position almost desperate, and should send piteous appeals for help to the Christians of the West. Michael VII. had appealed to Pope Gregory VII. in 1073. Alexius Comnenus, in 1088, appealed to the Count of Flanders in a letter which, if Guibert does not deceive us, urged a strange medley of religious and irreligious reasons for an armed expedition in succour of Greece. His ambassadors had appeared at the Council of Piacenza (the prelude to that of Clermont), pleading their master's cause. The circumstances, therefore, were such as might seem almost certain to provoke a conflict sooner or later.

From this point of view, the Crusades were only one episode in the eternal conflict between East and West, a conflict due to harsh contrasts of race, of religion, and of political ideals. The new Turk was like the old Arab, in that his State was sharply divided between two separate elements, the conqueror and the conquered,

the soldier and the bread-winner. The West itself, it is true, was organized in those days more nearly on that basis than it is now ; but nowhere in the West was there the same gulf as in the East between the main population of submissive peasants or artisans or traders and the small military caste which fed upon and tyrannized over the multitude. Europe had struggled to some real extent out of this stage, and no lasting peace was possible between the two.

Running parallel with this dividing current, but far overflowing it, was the stream of religious difference. Later on, when Crusader and Mohammedan came to know each other better, there might come some recognition of community between all religious minds ; but, at normal times, men's ignorance and narrowness of experience separated distant populations from each other to an extent which far exceeded all national differences of to-day.

To the Mohammedan, all Christians seemed polytheists and idolaters in their worship of the Trinity and the adoration which they paid to carved or painted images. The creed of Islam had owed much of its early success to war ; and, in spite of Mohammedan tolerance in certain directions, the conquered populations were still compelled to choose between conversion and servile subjection. On the Christian side the gulf was even more precipitous. It was not only that the most learned writers borrowed from each other the silliest and most slanderous fables as to Mohammed's life and the tenets of his religion ; but, at bottom, there was the conviction, ineradicably fixed in the orthodoxy of the Middle Ages, that no unbaptized person (with practically negligible exceptions) could possibly come to heaven. While mediæval preachers and theologians outvied each other in depicting the horrors of hell, and the triumph which would be felt by the righteous in looking down from heaven upon these torments, it was natural for the ordinary Westerner to look upon all Easterners, not as souls for whom Christ died, but as obstacles to the

diffusion of Christ's merits and Christ's message of salvation throughout the world. That it was damnable to kill one's fellow-Christian, but laudable and religious to kill an infidel, was a doctrine which did not need Urban's eloquence to expound and enforce, but which all men of that age, in so far as they thought about religion at all, were ready to think out and to retain under even cruder forms than that in which the Pope stated it. This assurance of forgiveness for sins, with the natural corollary that to die a crusader was to die a martyr, was exactly in accord with the whole spirit of the age. Abbot Guibert, in spite of his learning, his experience, and the almost modern freedom of thought which he shows in his treatise on relic-worship, has nothing but loathing for the whole of Greek Christendom, divided as it already was from Rome by differences of doctrine and discipline. "From this [reprehensible independence of the Greek mind] come heresies and a portentous crop of various plagues, which have grown to so fatal a height and so inextricable a labyrinth, that the most neglected soil could never produce a wilder crop of thorns or nettles. . . . The Greeks have become more ill-conditioned than brute beasts, and deserve the opprobrium into which they are fallen" through the Mohammedan invasions. We shall see presently that the Greek Christians, on their side, had an almost equal dislike for their Western brethren; and that personal contact, for a time at any rate, rather increased than diminished these racial and religious differences.

We must lay great stress also upon a cause already mentioned, the economic. This Turkish conquest of nearly all Asia Minor and Syria was even more disadvantageous to the trader than to the pilgrim; and, even at this early date, the trader was a strong political force in some parts of Europe, especially in the great Mediterranean ports. Moreover, the merchant of those days was not a stout, bald man sitting in an office and directing a staff of clerks; he was a merchant adventurer in a sense even beyond that of our great Elizabethan

seamen. His profession demanded that he should be prepared at any moment to meet robbers by land or pirates by sea ; and, in many cases, he was ready to take the initiative and do a certain amount of piracy on his own account. A stranger in those days was always a potential enemy, and even more so on the sea than elsewhere. Quite characteristic is Chaucer's casual remark about the Shipman of his own company :

> "Of nicë conscience took he no keep ;
> If that he fought, and had the upper hand,
> By sea he sent them home to every land."

Words which we may interpret by a sentence from his contemporary Froissart : "And so the English leapt into the great Spanish ship, and made fierce assault upon all such as they found therein, until all were slain and cast into the sea." This might have been written even more emphatically in the eleventh than in the fourteenth century ; therefore, from first to last, the Crusades offered as fair a field to many bold merchants of Europe as, five centuries later, the Spanish Main offered to Drake and to Raleigh. We shall constantly find the shipmen mentioned ; and the Fourth Crusade was, from one point of view, essentially the work of that great nation of shopkeepers in the Middle Ages, the Venetians.

And, naturally enough, different as were the motives for these wars, we find an equal difference in the persons. There were, first, those who sincerely strove after this "new way of salvation." When we have made all allowance for mixed motives in the breasts even of those who were mainly prompted by religious enthusiasm, we cannot fairly deny that the fundamental motive of the Crusades was religious, in the sense in which the Christian religion was generally interpreted at that time. One fact seems to stand in the way of any view which would ignore this essentially religious spirit : they have no other exact parallel in the history of the world.

The holy wars of early Mohammedanism would seem to approach them nearest; and there, again, the religious element was strong. Yet these cannot compare with the Crusades either in immediate fervour or in persistency of enthusiasm; thus much must be said, I think, even when we have made all fair deductions.

Next to the sincerely religious, we must enumerate mere ambitious soldiers seeking their fortunes. These came from all classes, from the younger son of a prince or knight, who would have no considerable heritage in the world but what he could carve out for himself, down to the peasant weary of his plough, or the weaver weary of his loom, who were willing enough to risk their lives in return for a little ready money, and the vague hope of future plunder. In this connection we may note the words of Ekkehard of Urach, a German chronicler who was a little jealous of the French claims: "It was easy enough to persuade the French peasants to leave their holdings, since their country had suffered for years from civil strife, famine, and grievous pestilences." Moreover, we must descend still lower in our enumeration, and count the prisoner freed from his chains, or the thief spared from the gallows, in order that he might wipe out his offences in infidel blood. But, with all this, there was a contagious enthusiasm which we must not ascribe merely to the herd-instinct, but which represented the whole mentality of that age, on all its sides. Guibert's picture is highly coloured, no doubt, but it is essentially true to life: "What shall I say of these men who, without lord, without prince, under God's impulse alone, marched in warlike array not only away from their native realms, but even through a multitude of intervening nations and tongues, from the very farthest limits of the British ocean even to the mid-point of the whole earth.[1] . . . We have seen the nations moving at God's command, steeling their hearts against all calls of necessity or affection, and going into exile for the

[1] According to mediæval geography (we may see it in Dante) Jerusalem was the mid-point of the earth.

sake of overthrowing the enemies of the Christian name; we have seen them pass not only beyond the confines of the Latin world, but even beyond all known limits, more cheerfully and readily than men troop to a feast or to a holiday. The highest honours, lordships of castles and of cities, were despised; the fairest wives seemed withered and worthless; there was no need of any Churchman to excite men to this by his preaching, since their own fellows cried aloud unto them, not only in words but by the example of their vow and their departure. . . . Then might we see the fulfilment of those words of Solomon (Prov. xxx. 27), 'The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.' . . . You might see even Scottish clans, commonly fierce against each other, but unwarlike against other men, bare-legged and rough-cloaked, with wallets on their shoulders, creeping up from their boggy homes. . . . God is my witness that I have listened to men of I know not what barbarous race, driven by the wind to one of our ports, whose tongue was so unknown that they laid one finger athwart another to show the sign of the cross, and thus set forth in dumb show that which they could not express with their voice."

This was the spirit which a Pope could evoke, when he himself was a great man with his heart set upon a great enterprise, and with a spirit attuned to that knightly spirit which was most prominent in France and which was one of the real constructive forces of mediæval society. But Urban was not only an idealist; he was also, as every practically minded Pope needed to be in those days, a politician; and this Crusade suited both his domestic and his foreign policy.

At home, as we have seen, it enabled him to give more reality to the Truce of God, by directing men's bellicose instincts from Europe to the East. That was the policy which Gregory VII. had already adopted towards the Normans, and which Pitt adopted many centuries later towards the Highlanders, turning potential enemies into immediate allies. But Urban had another reason also,

possibly even deeper and more pressing. The chronicler Foucher of Chartres shows us what we might not otherwise have suspected: the Pope was distressed not only by the unruliness of lay society in Europe, but also by discord and indiscipline in the Church. Foucher describes him as enlarging, in that speech at Clermont, upon the insecurity of society in general: "Beloved brethren, ye see how long the world hath been troubled, so that in some provinces . . . a man can scarce travel in safety by the highway. By day men are exposed to robbers; by night, to thieves, who attack them within their houses or without, by force or by fraud." But behind this was the consideration which Foucher gives as one prime cause of the whole Council: "The Pope, seeing that the Christian faith was shamefully trodden under foot by all men, both clergy and people . . . crossed the Alps into Gaul, and summoned a council at Clermont." That is, he hoped to provide a remedy not only against ruffianly lords and their mercenaries, not only against Turkish aggression, but also against the unchristian behaviour of professing Christians at home.

But, apart from these domestic reasons, there were other considerations which may justify the epigram: "The Crusades were the foreign policy of the Papacy." They were the natural application to foreign problems of certain principles which were acknowledged throughout Latin Christendom. The practice of pilgrimage to holy places had grown with the growth of the Church. Christianity, as it absorbed much that was best in earlier or rival religious systems, absorbed something also of their defects, or perhaps was independently influenced by the same primitive human instincts. To these men of the eleventh century, God was almost as narrowly a tribal God as He had been to the Jews. No mediæval theologian doubted the *existence* of heathen gods; they only differed from heathens as to the *quality* of those deities, and condemned them as devils. They were often sufficiently ignorant to believe that the Mohammedans were polytheists and idolaters; thus they conceived

the struggle as between one true God on their side, against a company of demons claiming falsely to be gods. Moreover, they were tempted to localize religion even more than the Jews had localized it at Jerusalem; Urban's contemporaries trusted to local associations almost as definite and as numerous as those of pagan antiquity; St. James of Compostella, for instance, attracted pilgrims in much the same numbers, and for much the same reasons, and with much the same stimulus to the trade in holy things, as Diana of Ephesus had done. The more distant the shrine, the greater the risk or difficulty of travel, the more meritorious in religion was the journey held to be. There, as in many other ways, the Christianized Normans were soon in the forefront; it was on a pilgrimage that the first Norman leaders discovered the value of Southern Italy as a field for conquest; the Norman was "a crusader before the Crusades." As time went on, the more distant pilgrimages were more and more elaborately organized. For Palestine, especially, guide-books were written which still survive, not only describing the routes, but furnishing pilgrims with a detailed account of the different holy places to be visited, and their associations with events in the life of Christ or His apostles. Men went also in caravans of increasing magnitude; one Archbishop of Mainz, in 1064, is said to have travelled with a company of 7,000; and, though we must allow for mediæval exaggeration, there is no doubt that the numbers were often very large, and that these pilgrims bore arms. Therefore the Pope, in calling upon all Europe to undertake this armed pilgrimage, was merely extending a traditional and most popular usage to meet the present state of affairs in the East. Moreover, the Crusades utilized for the same object a habit of mind which had become even more general and deep-rooted than the love of pilgrimage. From very early Christian times, by a very natural human impulse, men had preserved and revered the relics of saints, and especially of martyrs. It had become an

accepted theory that every Christian altar should be hallowed by one or more relics; many more were circulated and passed eagerly from hand to hand, and the trade in these holy things, as Guibert tells us in his remarkable treatise on the subject, led to the frequent manufacture of false relics. It has even been possible for a distinguished modern historian, Achille Luchaire, to contend that relic-worship was the real foundation of mediæval religion; and, all exaggeration apart, this worship does meet us everywhere when we look closely into mediæval religious life. Here, then, was not only a pilgrimage to a relic, as when men went to the shrine of St. Michael in Southern Italy, or St. James at Compostella, or (a little later) St. Thomas at Canterbury. It was not only a pilgrimage to a relic, but a pilgrimage to win a relic, or rather an assemblage of relics, the holiest in the world, from the preposterous dominion of heathen idolaters. These places where Christ had taught and suffered must surely be intended by Almighty Providence for unbroken possession by Christ's disciples; "it is God's will" that we should shed our last drop of blood, if need be, to regain them, and that Antichrist, whose reign is so near at hand, should find in the East a stronghold, not of his own doctrines, but of Christianity.

The Pope's main business, therefore, was to direct eastward these currents of religious belief and prejudice and custom which had so long been running, and which gathered such force as they ran. And, lastly, there were the personal reasons already hinted at, with others as well. This man of monastic training in the most disciplined and powerful and religiously efficient abbey in the world, with the knightly traditions of his family and the instinctive bond of mutual sympathy which bound him to the French nobility, and them to him, might well be not only the first conceiver of this great undertaking, but the man whom it concerned most nearly in his office as well as in his person. Not even Gregory VII., the man of whom Napoleon said, "If

I had not been what I am, I would wish to have been that Pope," had ever called upon the whole of Latin Christendom for so great or so spectacular a movement as this. Urban cannot have helped feeling, however little it may have come consciously into his first calculations, that he was thus magnifying his office as it had never been magnified before; and, perhaps we may add, as it has never been magnified since. The thousands who acclaimed him at Clermont demanded that he should lead them in person. He had prudence enough to refuse this; but he assigned one of his legates, Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, to take the command in his stead. The great barons and princes who took the cross marched, nominally at least, under this Churchman's authority; and, in fact, he was constantly active in the gravest military decisions. Thus, for a moment, Latin Christendom was organized on that theocratic basis which was the strength of Mohammedanism: unity of command in peace and war; the sword of the spirit and the sword of the flesh wielded by one single person.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE'S CRUSADE

We can here follow closely Abbot Guibert of Nogent, who claims to have heard from trustworthy sources, and who, with many vivid touches of his own, gives in the main the same impression as other contemporary authorities.

The impulse given at Clermont was continued by a number of preachers in other parts, who were able to stimulate their audiences with the Papal decree of indulgence for all the Crusader's sins, and protection for his family and goods; who could promise him all the freedom of a warrior and all the sacredness of a pilgrim. The most successful of these preachers was Peter, a hermit from the neighbourhood of Amiens, whose success was enormous in Northern France. Thousands took the cross at his call, and his personal sanctity so impressed them that they plucked even the hairs from his mule to preserve as relics. Guibert, who recounts this not without irony, confesses that he knows no parallel to Peter's influence over the multitude; he shows us the revivalist conspicuous in a linen robe over his monk's frock and cowl, shirtless and barefooted, living mainly on bread, seldom tasting even fish, and never drinking wine: such teetotalism was unusual even among ascetics in the Middle Ages. This multitude of sudden conversions produced an economic revolution.

The season had been bad, and this was a dear winter; yet suddenly everything became cheap, since all these thousands hastened at the same moment to sell their possessions and raise money for the pilgrimage. "So many men were in haste to negotiate for this journey that—to give a single example of the sudden and unexpected cheapening of all saleable stuff—seven sheep were sold for five *denarii*.[1] The former scarcity of corn was changed into plenty; for each pilgrim was so bent upon raising money, at all hazards, that he parted with his goods, not at his own price, but at the buyer's, lest he should be delayed in treading by God's way. So we saw this marvel, that all men bought dear and sold cheap. Bought dear, since all were competing for the things needful for their pilgrimage; and sold cheap, since their expenses had grown to such excess; so that a few coins would now purchase the possessions which neither prison nor torture could have wrung from the peasants a short while before. Nor was it less laughable that, in many cases, the very men who had hitherto been touched by no wish to leave their homes, and who derided one day this indiscriminate selling by their neighbours, telling them that they were setting forth in misery and would return more miserable still next day, I say, these very men would be caught by the sudden impulse, would sell their whole possessions for a few pence, and would march forth side by side with the neighbours whom they had mocked. For, although they

[1] The usual mediæval money-standard was that of *libræ*, *solidi*, and *denarii*, terms which still survive in our *£ s. d.* and in the French *livre*, *sou* (or *sol*), and *denier*. The *mark*, another very common term of reckoning, was two-thirds of the *libra*, and therefore contained 160 *denarii*. The purchasing value of the *denarius* at this time may be inferred from the fact that Robert of Normandy was thought very foolish for pawning his duchy for so little as 15,000 marks; that Tancred, at Antioch, was given 400 marks for the laborious and dangerous task of fortifying a weak point in the line; and that the knight mentioned on page 39 valued the income from his abbey and three castles at 1,500 marks a year. In default of record of the ordinary price of a sheep in France at this exact date, it is worth noting that in 1312 it was 6*s.* 8*d.*; it is very unlikely that it would have been less than 2*s.* 6*d.* in 1095.

seemed to have a zeal of God, yet not according to knowledge, nevertheless God Almighty, who is wont to bring many vain beginnings to a pious end, procured salvation for these men's simple souls through their mere good intention. You might see a marvellous and most laughable sight, a troop of poor folk with two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen whom they had shod after the fashion of horses, bearing their scanty possessions in these little carts, while their very children, as soon as they came to some walled town or city, would ask again and again whether this were the Jerusalem to which they were travelling. Now, at that time, before this great movement of the nations, the whole of France was troubled with the cruellest conflicts; brigandage was frequent, and the roads were infested with robbers. Time without number incendiary fires were reported, and were, in fact, perpetrated; men fought pitched battles for no other excuse than insatiable greed; and, to conclude all in a single sentence, whatsoever was open to the sight of these covetous men was exposed also to their ravage, no matter who the true possessor might be. Now, however, there was a marvellous and incredible change of spirit by reason of the decree of Pope Urban aforesaid; and men besought bishops or priests to invest them with the sign of the cross. And, even as the wildest winds are often laid by a mere moderate fall of rain, so we beheld this immediate pacification of the general wars and tumults by means of a breath that passed from man to man; the breath (we must not doubt) of Christ."

But these first impulses naturally cooled, and certainly the patience of the multitude was tried beyond endurance. The princes were not even timed to start until August, and it was evident that they would not be ready then; meanwhile the poor folk must march or starve. Peter the Hermit undertook to be their leader; he was seconded by a knight called Walter the Penniless, and by a German monk named Gottschalk, who had preached in his own country as Peter had

preached in France. Under these leaders the motley crowd started upon a journey of 600 miles, through much wild country and many folk of different manners and tongues. The general poverty may be inferred from the fact that, even in Walter's vanguard, which was the most soldierly division of their army, there were only eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot soldiers. There were several divisions, each more undisciplined than its predecessors; but a body of three thousand horse, led by a few adventurous noblemen, afforded some defence to the multitudes on their march. One of the German divisions led in their van what we should now call a *mascot*—two animals to which they ascribed a sort of divine inspiration, a goat and a goose. The good canon who records this is indignant at this "detestable wickedness of the mad populace," possibly realizing that here was a survival of pagan Germanic polytheism, in which the goose and the goat had been sacred.

An undisciplined crowd of some 300,000 persons, including women and children, might well have failed on a far shorter journey and under far easier conditions. But these men, as we might anticipate even from Guibert's praise of their first enthusiasm, showed from the very first an impatience which must turn mere difficulties into impossibilities. As they passed through the wealthy cities of Germany they began by massacring the Jews. They were marching to wash away their sins in pagan blood; why not begin with the descendants of those who had crucified Christ? The more so, as the pilgrims were already desperately needy, and the Jews were rich. Therefore they were slaughtered wholesale at Verdun, Trèves, Mainz, Speyer, and Worms; as Gibbon points out, they had never suffered so cruelly since the persecution of Hadrian. The Archbishop of Cologne took some of them into his palace for protection, but the Crusaders beat down his doors with axes, and slaughtered the refugees. It is asserted that some 10,000 were destroyed.

Thus far licence was crowned with momentary success,

but it was very different when the pilgrims came to the more difficult stages of their journey. Hungary and Bulgaria were as fertile then as now, but far more sparsely populated, and by still less patient inhabitants. There are many rivers to be crossed, and, in those days, many morasses and long tracts, at intervals, of primeval forest. The people still kept many of the characteristics of their nomad ancestors; they had settled down to a certain amount of agriculture, but even their cities were little more than a collection of thatched huts, and much of their lives was spent in cattle-rearing and hunting. Even a century and a half later than this, the earliest Franciscan friars who visited these parts as missionaries found themselves preaching to semi-barbarians. Here, then, were men dangerous to provoke, and the pilgrims gave them, by Guibert's confession, abundant provocation. "When [Peter the Hermit] had thus collected a vast army, he chose the road through Hungary. The undisciplined crowd, finding this country very rich in all foodstuffs, began to riot in revolting self-indulgence against the kindness of the inhabitants. For our Crusaders, beholding how, according to the custom of that country, the wheat harvest of many years stood heaped in towers—such as we call *stacks* in our common speech—from field to field, and notwithstanding the fact that they had plenty of various kinds of flesh and of other food, whereof that land is most fertile, not contented, again, with the kindness of the inhabitants—these our men, I say, strangers as they were, came to such a marvellous pitch of madness that they began to tread the people of the country underfoot. These Hungarian folk willingly ministered all things for sale, as Christians to Christians; yet our pilgrims, in wanton impatience, forgetful of the kindly hospitality and beneficence they had received, fought without cause against their hosts, deeming that these were mere unwarlike folk who would never dare to resist them. Thus, with execrable madness, they set fire to the public stores of wheat whereof I have

spoken, violated maidens, carried many women away to the dishonour of the marriage bond, plucked the beards of their hosts or singed them with fire. Now, therefore, there was no longer any talk of buying the necessaries of life, but every one set himself to robbery and bloodshed with all his might, and threatened with wanton freedom, ' Thus will we do against the Turks.' There was a town which stood in their way, so that they could in no wise avoid passing through it, for it stood in a narrow pass which left no passage to the right or to the left. The pilgrims, with their accustomed insolence, rushed to storm it ; but, when they seemed on the point of victory, by some mischance the tide so turned against them that some were slain with the sword, others swept away by the river, and others found their way back to France not only without gain, but eaten up with the basest poverty. And, because that town was called Moysson, and these stragglers said that they had been to Moysson, they were greeted by all men with bitter mockery. Peter, meanwhile, found his exhortations quite useless to restrain this disorderly crowd."

Many, in fact, had gone on before him, and had been cut to pieces in Hungary in reward for the excesses they had committed. Peter himself passed safely through Hungary, but at Semlin he found a sight which exasperated his followers. A few stragglers from the vanguard of Walter the Penniless had been plundered here, and their arms were hung up on the city wall as a warning to unlicensed foragers. This provoked Peter's men to storm and pillage the town ; and this was of evil omen for their farther passage through Bulgaria. The country folk lay in wait for them on their march ; only about a third of them escaped to the mountains of Thrace, where they found themselves under the protection of the Greek emperor, who naturally respected the Crusade and had, as yet, no reason to quarrel with the Crusaders. The net result of this great expedition, at its first stage, was that of the original army only two divisions arrived in shrunken remnants at Constanti-

nople. Other recruits had straggled in to join them; but, of the multitudes who first set forth from France and the Rhineland, by far the larger part had left their bones in Hungary and Bulgaria, or had forsaken the pilgrimage and turned back altogether.

Here, at Constantinople, we may take up the tale again with Guibert. Walter the Penniless had arrived in mid-July; Peter the Hermit, "with a certain number of recruits from Germany, and with the last dregs of our own French army, having saved his skin as best he could from the slaughters by the way, reached Constantinople in the last days of July." The Emperor received the pilgrims kindly, and allowed them to lodge in the suburbs, and gave them wise advice. "By his edict it was commanded that they should have such market as they desired of all things that were for sale in the city; but he forbade their crossing the Bosporus, which divided them from the Turkish lands; for he told them that it would be fatal to confront those numberless foes with their own small army. But the pilgrims were neither checked by the kindly behaviour of the natives nor softened in the least by the Emperor's courtesy; on the contrary, they comported themselves with extreme insolence. They tore down palaces in the city, set fire to public buildings, and, stripping churches of the lead which covered them, sold the metal to the Greeks. The Emperor, troubled at this foul presumption, swept away his former reasons for delay and commanded them to cross the Bosporus. When they came to the other side of the straits [at Nicomedia], they ceased in no respect from the same conduct which they had pursued on the hither side. These men who had taken the vow to fight against the heathen came everywhere into conflict, by their abominable dealings, with those of our own faith; for they destroyed churches and plundered the goods of Christians. For, since they neither felt the heavy hand of any king to mete stern justice to transgressors, nor conceived such reverence for God's law as should subdue, by serious reflection,

A WESTERN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

(*Vetusta Monumenta*, VI., Plate XXV. : *from the Luttrell Psalter.*)

the levity of their minds, therefore they fell into sudden ruin; for, as it is written, 'Death cometh to meet undisciplined folk, and short-lived are all things that lack thought and moderation.' These South Italian, Lombard, and German recruits, when at last they reached Nicomedia, became impatient of the pride of the Franks, and separated themselves from them. For these Franks, as their very name signifies, are distinguished by great vivacity; but, unless they be strictly curbed and controlled, they are fierce to excess among the multitudes of other nations. Therefore these Transalpines, who, as I have said, parted from the Franks, chose one Rainald as their leader, and marched into the province called Romania.[1] Then, having marched four days' journey beyond Nicæa, they found on their way a fortified town called Exorogorgon, which was deserted by its inhabitants and was at once invaded by our multitude. . . . Here, finding great plenty of victuals, they fed to their full. But the Turks, finding that the Christians had taken the town, invested it with a numerous force. Just outside the town gate was a well, with another lower down, not far from the walls; here Rainald laid an ambush and, as a cunning general, kept watch on the Turks. Soon afterwards the Turks arrived; and that day, which was Michaelmas, they attacked our leader and his companions, slew very many of those who lay in wait, and drove the rest in rout within the city walls. Then they pressed the siege so hard that our men were closely shut in, without means of obtaining water. So great were their sufferings from thirst that they were forced to bleed their horses or asses and to drink the blood. Others dipped their waistbands or linen into water-pits[2] and, squeezing them into their mouths, seemed to get some alleviation.

[1] *i.e.* the Turkish kingdom of Roum, founded by the Seljukian prince Soliman a few years before (see Gibbon, towards the end of chap. 57). It extended from the Euphrates to the Bosporus, and from the Black Sea to the borders of Syria; its capital was Nicæa. It was this menace which had driven Alexius to implore Western help.

[2] Or, possibly, sewers, *piscinas*.

Others were driven to still more horrible expedients; and others, again, dug pits and lay down in them, covering their burning breasts with the fresh-turned earth, and thinking thus to temper, if only a little, their inward heat with the moisture. But they did not lack comfort from the bishops and priests who suffered with them, and who strove to keep up their courage by the promise of heavenly rewards in proportion to the horror of their present perils and the hopelessness of human help. Such anguish they suffered for eight long days. But, while all seemed doomed to the same misery, yet all did not equally sigh for God's mercy; nay, rather, their leaders plotted to save themselves by treachery;[1] for Rainald, who had been their ruler in prosperity, was base enough to make secret terms with the Turks, and to covenant that he would give all his followers into their hand. He sallied forth, therefore, as if to fight against them; but, amid the show of setting his army in battle array, he and many of his men fled over to them and abode with them for ever. The rest of our army were taken captive. With some the question of faith was raised; they were commanded to deny Christ; and when, with lips and soul, they proclaimed their inflexible love to Christ, they were beheaded. To others their captors granted the boon of life, or rather the curse of a slower death, dividing them among themselves for cruel slavery under savage masters. Some were set up as a target for their masters' arrows; others were given away, others sold. Their new masters took them to their homes, some to Khorassan, others to Antioch, there to suffer a slavery wretched in proportion to the wickedness of their owners. . . . These were the first martyrs whom God made under our new and almost desperate conditions. Meanwhile that Peter, of whom I have already spoken,

[1] This accusation of treachery, which is made only by the author of the *Gesta Francorum* and those who copy from him, may not be true. Anna Comnena says that the Turks enticed the Christians into an ambush by holding out plunder as a bait.

being oftentimes vexed with the great madness of his companions, and troubled by their frequent defeats, had given over the leadership of his own [French] army to a certain noble from beyond the Seine, of great personal valour, named Walter [the Penniless]; for he hoped that this man, by his military authority, might be able to restrain these men whom he himself could not hold in by reasonable words. Walter, therefore, with that army of madmen, went by forced marches to Civitot,[1] a city which lay above Nicæa. The Turks, eager to follow on the heels of our soldiers, learned this and hastened thither with greedy ill-will; thus they caught Walter and his company midway, and slew him with the greater part of his men. But Peter the Hermit, unable to restrain the madness of the people whom he had gathered together, had already had the prudence to depart for Constantinople, fearing to be involved in their unbridled and uncircumspect levity. . . . Those who could escape [from the slaughter of Walter's division] fled to Civitot. Others, unable to flee, were drowned in the sea, choosing rather to die thus than at the hands of the attacking Turks. Some fled to the mountains and lurked among the rocks; others hid in the forests. Then the Turks, when they had caught or taken vengeance on all whom they could find outside, attacked without delay, and laid siege to those who had fled into the town. They pressed them so hard that they heaped wood together to burn the town; but the besieged set fire to this pile, and, by God's judgment, whereas the Turks had counted upon burning the defenders, the whole force of the flames blew upon them and burned some of them without attacking one of our own men. But the enemy pressed on and stormed the town, taking their victims alive, and dealing with them as they had dealt with those before them; our pilgrims were sent away to the provinces whence their enemies had come. This, as I have said, was done in October.

[1] The modern Hersek.

" But the treacherous Emperor,[1] when he learned this disaster that had befallen the faithful, decreed that the remnant of them should be allowed to recross the Bosporus and return to Greece. When they had returned, and he saw that he had them in his own dominions, he insisted that they should sell him their arms, making a law of their necessity.

" Such was the fate of Peter the Hermit's company ; and I have told their story consecutively, without interruption by other matter, in order to show that they gave no help to the other pilgrims, but rather inspired the Turks with boldness."

Guibert shows himself fully conscious of the tragi-comic contrast between this last stage of Peter's career and the earlier days when the very hairs of his mule had been treasured as relics. And the Emperor's daughter, Anna Comnena, whose chronicle is one of our best sources for this time, describes the " mountain " of bones, " most conspicuous in height and breadth and depth," which the victorious Turks had heaped up as a monument of their triumph over these invaders. That was all that remained of the People's Crusade.

[1] Guibert is here unfair to the Emperor, who on the whole showed a great deal of forbearance.

CHAPTER III

THE PRINCES' CRUSADE—I

This was far more serious, and needs our closer attention. We have here, not the multitudes who could not afford to wait even a few months, and must therefore hasten forward as best they could, but the princes and great lords upon whom Urban most relied, and who were under the general command, nominally at least, of his Legate.

They were timed to start in mid-August 1096, but in fact there were many delays; the last of the main divisions did not reach Constantinople till May 1097. These main divisions were four; but we must not think of them as compact masses: each was broken up into separate streams, which kept no very close touch with each other.

1. The Provençal and Italian contingent was led by the Legate and Count Raymond of Toulouse, who cannot be better characterized than in Gibbon's words: "The former was a respectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and for the next. The latter was a veteran warrior, who had fought against the Saracens of Spain, and who consecrated his declining age not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual service, of the Holy Sepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a strong ascendant in the Christian camp, whose distress he was often able, and sometimes willing, to relieve. But it was easier for him to extort

the praise of the infidels than to preserve the love of his subjects and associates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper haughty, envious, and obstinate; and, though he resigned an ample patrimony for the cause of God, his piety, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition." They marched down the Italian peninsula, crossed the sea to Dalmatia, and threaded the defiles of the Albanian mountains.

2. The Germans, with some of the northern Frenchmen, went "by the road which Charles the Great, the marvellous king of the Franks, had long since constructed to Constantinople;" for by that time, among other Charlemagne legends, was this of his armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They went down the Danube, through Hungary and Bulgaria, by much the same way as the People's Crusade had chosen. Here, again, we cannot characterize more truly than Gibbon has done. "The first rank both in war and council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon; and happy would it have been for the Crusaders if they had trusted themselves to the sole conduct of that accomplished hero, a worthy representative of Charlemagne, from whom he was descended in the female line. His father was of the noble race of the Counts of Boulogne; Brabant, the lower province of Lorraine, was the inheritance of his mother; and, by the Emperor's bounty, he was himself invested with that ducal title which has been improperly transferred to his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes. In the service of Henry IV. he bore the great standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breast of Rodolph, the rebel king; Godfrey was the first who ascended the walls of Rome; and his sickness, his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against the Pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the Holy Sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and, in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reserved his

enmity for the enemies of Christ; and, though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals." With Godfrey marched his two brothers, Eustace Count of Boulogne, and Baldwin Duke of Lorraine.

3. The main body from northern France marched southwards until they joined Raymond's road, down Italy to Brindisi, and thence through Dalmatia and Albania. In this division were the princes of highest rank: Hugh Count of Vermandois and brother to the King of France; Robert Duke of Normandy, eldest son to William the Conqueror, who pawned the duchy to his brother in order to pay his way; another Robert Count of Flanders, "a royal province which, in this century, gave three queens to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark"; and Stephen Count of Chartres, Blois, and Troyes, of whom Guibert writes: "So powerful was he that, if fame speaks truly, he was lord of as many castles as there are days in the year." Both the two Roberts were distinguished warriors; and Stephen stood high among the Crusaders for his wisdom and eloquence. At the other end of the scale from this lord of three counties and three hundred and sixty-five castles, we may put the knight who, probably starting from a very small patrimony, boasted later on that he had already won one abbey and three castles on the Crusade; and that, if Aleppo could be taken, he would gain a hundred castles more. But the movement, as a whole, was far less coloured by such self-seeking than by religious enthusiasm, at least in its earlier stages. Guibert describes the movement in northern France, where he himself was a conspicuous figure. "These men, leaving their most illustrious wives and their well-beloved children, made light of all that men hold dearest, in comparison with that exile upon which they had set their hearts. Of honours and possessions I say nought; for those things are no part of our true selves. But this fills us with amazement, that the mutual love of husband and wife, fixed still more firmly by the affection of their

common offspring, could be torn asunder without peril to either side." Nature herself felt something unnatural in this; and Guibert records one eclipse in which the moon seemed all bloody, followed by an equally miraculous blackening of her orb.

4. The fourth division, destined to prove one of the most important, joined in almost by accident. Bohemund, Prince of Tarentum, was the son and worthy successor of the famous Robert Guiscard. He was one of the foremost warriors of the age, and had fought two victorious fights against the Greek Emperor; at this time he was engaged on the siege of Amalfi, in conjunction with his uncle, Count Roger of Sicily. At the news of the Crusade he suddenly abandoned this enterprise, and communicated his own enthusiasm for the Holy War to so many among the Normans and Italians who formed the besieging army, that Count Roger found himself almost alone. This inspiration may possibly have been mainly religious; but, from what we know of Bohemund, it is more probable that, even from the first, he saw rather in this expedition a unique opportunity for the battles and conquests to which his life had been devoted. To the Norman knight who fought under him and who wrote the *Gesta Francorum* he is the ideal leader, "the honour and glory of the whole world; arbiter of war and judge of battles; the athlete of Christ." But in this his own retainer's narrative we shall see him no less remarkable for Norman cunning than for Norman valour and resourcefulness; and historians have generally seen him with Gibbon's eyes: "It is in the person of this Norman chief that we may seek for the coolest policy and ambition, with a small alloy of religious fanaticism." With him came his nephew (or, possibly, cousin) Tancred, whom later poets seized upon as the most romantic figure in this expedition. Bohemund led his division down towards Constantinople by "the old Roman road," *i.e.* the Appian Way, to Brindisi or Bari or Otranto; thence they crossed to Durazzo.

We cannot do better than follow this Princes' Crusade in the words of the *Gesta Francorum*, the most direct and vivid of all contemporary narratives which have come down to us. This is the history which Guibert and others used for their foundation, even when they embroidered upon it with their own reflections and with supplementary details which they had heard from other lips. We do not know the author's name; but the book tells us incidentally a good deal of his life-story, while it reflects an interesting personality. He took the cross at Amalfi in the summer of 1096, and he survived to storm Jerusalem just three years later. In the last stages of the march, he seems to have been among the many who had lost their horses and had no means of replacing them, and who therefore marched among the poor foot-soldiers—*pauperes homines pedites*—with whom he shows evident sympathy. As a layman and a soldier, he gives us a point of view more direct and more instructive than that of the other chroniclers, who were all ecclesiastics. The book is in a plain artless Latin, which it is possible that an Italian knight wielded as his own; but it seems more probable that he dictated it in the vernacular to some priest, who translated it as he went along. He seems to have been one of the many Normans who had made their home in southern Italy. The last event he mentions is the battle of Ascalon, in August 1099; and it is pleasant to hope that he settled down to end his days in a comfortable fief in the new kingdom of Jerusalem. Here, then, we have the only story of the Crusade that is written by an actual combatant; and the following pages are mostly in his own words, with a few additions from Guibert and explanations from modern scholars.

"The warlike Bohemund, who lay at the siege of Amalfi, hearing that an innumerable multitude of Christians, of Frankish race, had come on their way to our Lord's sepulchre, all armed to fight against the Pagans, began to inquire curiously what weapons they bore, what token of Christ they displayed on their march, and what was

their battle-cry. Men gave him for answer: 'They are well armed for fight; on their right shoulder or between the two shoulders they bear the cross of Christ; and with one voice they utter the battle-cry of *Deus le volt, Deus le volt, Deus le volt.*' Then Bohemund, moved by the Holy Spirit, bade men cut the most costly of his mantles, which he expended forthwith in crosses, down to the last fragment." Most of the host followed his example; the siege was raised, and Roger went back to Sicily in disgust. Our author, after enumerating the great captains who had joined, continues: "All these crossed the sea in Bohemund's service, and landed in Bulgaria, where they found great abundance of corn, wine, and bodily sustenance. Thence they marched down into the valley of the Drino and waited for his company until all alike had passed the sea. Then the wise Bohemund held a council at which he spoke words of exhortation and warning to us all, saying: 'Sirs, beware, for now we are all God's pilgrims; wherefore we must be better and humbler than we were before, and do not plunder this land, for it is a Christian country; and let no man take more than is needful for him to eat, with God's blessing.' Then we departed thence, and came through a most plentiful land, from town to town, from city to city, from castle to castle, until we came to Kastur, where we kept Christmas with all solemnity. There we tarried many days and sought victuals; but the men would not consent unto us, thinking that we were no pilgrims, but that we wished to slay them and waste their land. Therefore we seized upon oxen and horses and asses and all that we found. Then we departed from Kastur and entered into Pelagonia, wherein was a certain fortified town of the heretics; this we assailed on all sides and soon had the upper hand; wherefore we set fire to it, and burned the town with all that dwelt therein, to wit, this congregation of heretics. Thence we came unto the river Vardar; here the lord Bohemund crossed with his men, yet not with all, for the Count of Roussillon and his brothers remained behind.

So the [Greek] Emperor's army came and attacked the Count and his brothers and all his followers. Tancred, hearing of this, turned back and plunged into the stream and swam across; and two thousand followed him into the river. At last they found Turcopules and Patzinaks fighting with our men;[1] these they attacked fiercely forthwith and defeated; and, having taken many of them, they brought them bound before the lord Bohemund. He asked them: 'Wretches, wherefore do ye slay Christ's men and mine? I have no quarrel with your Emperor.' They answered: 'We cannot do otherwise; we are in the Emperor's pay, and must do whatsoever he may bid.' Bohemund therefore sent them away unpunished. This fight was on the 18th of February; blessed be the Lord in all things. Amen." They reached Constantinople not without considerable further friction; it needed all Bohemund's authority to keep his men from plundering the cities and the country folk. At Constantinople they found many of their fellow-Crusaders already arrived. Godfrey's army had been held back three weeks on the confines of Hungary by the natural suspicions of a population which had suffered so much from the disorders of the People's Crusade. But Godfrey himself, and then his brother, gave themselves as hostages to the king; and his army, "keeping that discipline which Peter had failed to command," passed peacefully through Hungary and Bulgaria to Constantinople.

Raymond of Toulouse, who, like Bohemund, marched from Durazzo to Constantinople, had something of the same experience. Apart from the hostility of the natives, he was sometimes attacked by the Emperor's soldiers; but he reached Constantinople about the same time as Bohemund.

The Western chroniclers complain constantly of the

[1] The Turcopules were mercenaries of Turkish race in Greek pay. Patzinaks were a wild tribe whom Alexius had conquered and decimated, and had formed the survivors into an army corps under Greek command.

Emperor's treachery; but he was in a very difficult position. At the Council of Piacenza, his ambassadors had pleaded for an expedition of 10,000 men to relieve Turkish pressure upon Constantinople. Peter and Walter had brought a horde which might have proved more dangerous than the Turks, if the Turks had not destroyed it. And here, now, were four great armies claiming his hospitality, but bent upon a distant object, and certain to put purely Greek interests in the second or third place, even if they could be trusted not to take advantage of the situation, by attacking and plundering their Eastern allies. Hugh of Vermandois had hastened on rashly, with a small escort, before the main body of pilgrims. When he landed at Durazzo, the Greek governor arrested him and sent him on to Constantinople as a hostage. Here he was received with all the outward respect due to the brother of the French king; but he was compelled to swear homage, and to promise that all conquests in Asia Minor should either be restored to the Emperor or held in vassalage from him. Partly by gifts, partly by flattery, Alexius obtained a similar homage and promise from all the other leaders except Tancred, who crossed the Bosporus in order to avoid it, and Raymond, who took an oath of fidelity, but refused to swear homage.

To reach Nicæa, Bohemund's division had to take an untrodden road and cut their way through the jungle with axes and swords. When they reached the city, their supplies failed; "so great was the lack of bread that a loaf sold for twenty or thirty *denarii*. But when the noble Bohemund came, he ordered great plenty of victuals to be brought by ship; and now supplies came both by land and sea, and the whole Christian army was in great plenty." By this time, all the divisions had collected outside the walls of Nicæa; they have sometimes been calculated at 600,000 men in all. We must probably reduce these numbers to about 250,000; but, even so, Gibbon is possibly right in suggesting that there were more men together here in the field than had

ever been recorded in history until his own day; and certainly they were sufficient to invest Nicæa completely, in spite of the great extent of its fortifications. The Crusaders could not afford a long blockade, but were anxious to attack without delay. "The Count of Toulouse and the Papal Legate took counsel together how they might undermine a certain tower which faced their tents. Men were set to mine it, with archers and crossbowmen to defend them on all sides. So they mined it even to the roots of the wall, and laid wooden props and timber and set fire to them. But, as evening came on, it was now night when the tower fell; and the darkness prevented our fighting with the Turks; so, during that night, the Turks arose hastily and restored the wall so strongly that, when day broke, no man could harm them at that point." They had the advantage, again, of a lake on one side of the city, by which their ships could bring supplies. But the Emperor, at the Crusaders' appeal, sent ships of his own to Civitot, which were dragged over the wooded hills by oxen, and dismayed the Turks by their sudden appearance on the waters of Nicæa. "Then the Turks, seeing that they could get no succour from their own armies, sent an embassy to the Emperor, promising to yield the city of their own accord, if he would suffer them to go safe with their wives and children and all their possessions. Then the Emperor, full of vain and unjust thoughts, commanded that they should depart in safety and without fear; and he caused them to be brought under safe conduct to Constantinople. There he kept them by design, in order that he might have them ready to hinder and to harm the Franks.

"Now we lay at that siege for seven weeks and three days; and many of our men earned martyrdom there, rendering up their happy souls in joy and gladness to God; and among the poorest of the soldiers many died of famine for Christ's name's sake; these have borne in heaven the robe of martyrdom which they have earned." Guibert here adds further reflections. "It

will be felt without doubt that these, who faced death and destruction in defence of faith and righteousness, are clearly counted in God's sight among those who have won a heavenly crown at the price of their own blood; nor should I assign any lower reward to those poor wretches who died of hunger, as indeed very many perished. For, if we may apply the prophet's words to history, 'It was better for those that were slain with the sword than for them which perished with famine,'[1] then must we believe that the men who were tortured beyond doubt by a more painful and more lingering death, will not lack a still nobler crown of martyrdom."

The Emperor, on the surrender of Nicæa, "commanded that liberal alms should be dealt among our poor"—*nostris pauperibus*. The Crusaders, after a rest in the city, resumed their march; but, after two days, starting before daylight, one half of the army lost its way, and for two days the divisions advanced by different roads. "On the third, the Turks made a fierce onslaught on Bohemund and his men. They burst suddenly into strident chatterings and cries at the top of their voice, uttering I know not what diabolical sounds in their own tongue. The wise Bohemund, seeing these countless multitudes, crying harshly upon us from afar with demoniacal yells, commanded forthwith that all the knights should dismount and hasten to pitch their tents. Before these were pitched, he said again to all his knights: 'Ye lords and valiant soldiers of Christ, behold us now beset on all sides by the press of battle. Therefore let all the knights charge manfully upon the enemy, and the foot-soldiers pitch the tents skilfully and in all haste.' As soon as this work had been completed, the Turks were surrounding us on all sides, fighting and casting spears and darts, and shooting arrows with marvellous length and breadth of range. We therefore, although we sufficed not to withstand them or to bear the weight

[1] Lamentations iv. 9, freely altered for Guibert's purpose.

of so many foes, yet we ran upon them with one accord. Moreover, our women were a great succour to us on that day; for they brought water for our soldiers to drink, and gave constant encouragement to those who were fighting in their defence. So the wise Bohemund sent forthwith to the others, the noble Count of Toulouse and the renowned Duke Godfrey, Hugh of Vermandois and that most honourable Bishop of Le Puy and all the other soldiers of Christ, that they should hasten to join in the battle, saying,' If they wish to fight to-day, let them come like men.' But they put the matter away as a delusion, saying, ' Nay, all this is a deception ; ' for we did not believe that they would now be so impudent as to dare to stand up again to fight with us, after our victory at Nicæa." The other princes, however, did in fact come up, and the Crusaders at full strength confronted the full strength of the Turks. " Then our men marvelled whence so great a multitude could have come, of Turks and Arabs and Saracens and others whose names I know not ; for nearly all the mountains and hills and valleys and plains, inside and out and everywhere round, were covered with that accursed folk—*de illa excommunicata generatione*. So we spake in private to each other, words of encouragement and counsel, saying, ' Cleave fast together in the faith of Christ and in the conquering power of the banner of the Cross ; for, please God, ye shall all be made rich men this day.' . . . Then, when our whole army advanced, these Turks and Saracens and Africans and all their barbarous tribes fled swiftly through the mountain passes and over the plains ; yet the number of these Turks and Persians and Paulicians and Saracens and Africans and other Pagans was three hundred and sixty thousand, besides the Arabs, whom no man could number but God alone. But they fled at full speed to their tents ; and there we did not leave them to linger long. So they took flight again, and we pursued and slew them the whole day long. And we got much spoil ; gold and silver, horses and asses, camels and sheep and oxen, and many other things

which we know not. If the Lord had not been with us in the battle, and had not sent the other army speedily unto us, no man would have been left alive in our company ; for this fight [of which we were bearing the whole brunt] lasted from nine o'clock until noon. . . . What man is so learned and wise that he can describe the prudence and warlike skill and courage of the Turks, who thought to scare the Franks with the threat of their arrows, even as they had scared Arabs and Saracens, Armenians and Syrians and Greeks ? But, please God, they will never be the equals of our men. Yet they themselves say that they are of Frankish kin, and that no men are born to knighthood but Franks and Turks. I will tell the truth, which no man will dare to gainsay. Certainly, if they had always been firm in Christianity and Christian faith, and had been willing to confess [the articles of our creed], no man could have found stronger or braver men, or more skilled in warfare ; yet, by God's grace, our men had the upper hand."

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCES' CRUSADE—II

THIS first great fight (the battle of Dorylæum, July 1) strikes the keynote of all the rest. We see the vast army of pilgrims, with their women and camp-followers, in separate divisions which lose touch with each other only too easily. Their backbone is in the cavalry, heavy men on heavy steeds, clad in mail from head to foot, irresistible in attack with sword and lance, playing much the same part which tanks played in the Great War. The light-armed, agile Turk can cut off stragglers, and overwhelm a vanguard or a rearguard in default of support from the main body, but he cannot stand against these moving castles of steel; and, when the cavalry gives way, and the bowmen have emptied their quivers, the Western horsemen slaughter the fleeing infantry until night or weariness puts an end to the fight. At Dorylæum, the decisive factor seems to have been an attack of the latest-arriving Christian forces upon the Turkish rear.

Between Dorylæum and Antioch, a distance of five hundred miles, there was no other pitched battle. For the Seljukian conquest of Asia Minor had never been complete; Turks held the great cities and had armies and camps here and there in the open country, but the main population was Greek in race or in sympathy. Thus the Crusaders had no serious guerrilla warfare to contend with; and in many cases they must have received more help from the inhabitants than the Turks

could command. Moreover, they were careful to take a route which, though longer, led them through Lesser Armenia (Cilicia); for here the Turks had never completely established themselves, and the pilgrims might count upon Christian help. Soliman, having lost his capital of Nicæa, and failed to crush the Crusaders on their march, tried to bring about a coalition of the other Turkish generals. But each of these was a sort of petty king within his own province; there was even more jealousy and rivalry among them than among the Christian princes; and our Crusaders, fortunately for themselves, had only to deal with them in detail. The march to Antioch, therefore, was by no means as desperate as it might seem at first sight; yet it involved hardships and dangers which we may again follow in our Norman knight's own words.

"Then we went in pursuit of the wicked Turks, who fled daily before us. But whensoever they came to a town or city, they feigned and deluded the inhabitants, saying, 'We have conquered all the Christians, so that none will dare again to stand before us; only suffer us to enter your gates.' Then, entering, they plundered churches and houses and all manner of goods, carrying off horses and asses and mules, gold and silver and all that they could find. Thus we pursued them by deserts and waterless lands where no man might dwell, from whence we ourselves scarce escaped alive. For we were afflicted on all sides with hunger and thirst, and we had nought to eat except in so far as we could rub the ears of corn in our hands and live miserably on suchlike food. There died the greater part of our horses, so that many were reduced to go on foot; and, for lack of horses, we used oxen for riding; and, in our utter necessity, we laid our baggage on the backs of goats and sheep and dogs. After a while we began to enter upon an excellent land, full of bodily aliments and delicacies and all good things; and then we drew near to Iconium." Thence our knight, with the main body, marched southwards and struggled through the Taurus range; "a diabolical mountain

country, which was so lofty and so narrow that no man dared pass another on the precipitous path. The knights, therefore, were everywhere discouraged, beating their breasts for excess of grief and pain, doubting what to do with themselves and their arms, selling their shields and excellent coats of mail and helmets for three or five *denarii*, or for whatsoever they could get; for what they could not sell they cast away for nothing and went on their way. So, when we had issued from these accursed mountains, we came to Maragh. The inhabitants of that city [being Christians] came to meet us, rejoicing and bringing great plenty of victuals; and here we had abundance of all things, awaiting the lord Bohemund's coming. Then our company came into the valley wherein is the royal city of Antioch, the capital of all Syria, which the Lord Jesus Christ granted to St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, in order that he might bring it back to the worship of the holy faith. . . . This city of Antioch is most fair and magnificent; for within its walls are four hills, very great and lofty, on the highest of which a castle is built, marvellous and of exceeding strength. The lower city is splendid and commodious, and adorned with every honour, for there are many churches, and the city contains three hundred and sixty monasteries; the Patriarch has one hundred and fifty-three bishops under him.[1] The city is enclosed with a double wall [built by the Emperor Justinian]; the greater of the two is very high and of marvellous breadth, built with great stones; it is flanked by four hundred and fifty towers. The city is beautiful in every respect; on the east, it is enclosed by four great hills, and on the west, under the city walls, flows the river Orontes." This great city cost the pilgrims dear to win, and dearer still to keep.

"When we began to draw near to the Iron Bridge, our scouts, who always rode on ahead of us, found innumer-

[1] These numbers answer suspiciously to the days of the year and the miraculous draught of fishes. Several mediæval cities are said to have boasted as many churches as days in the year.

able Turks gathered in front of us, and hastening to bring succour to Antioch. So our men ran upon them with one heart and one mind, and had the better of them. The barbarians were dismayed and took to flight; and many of them were slain in that battle. But we, by God's grace, took much booty, horses and camels, and mules and asses laden with corn and wine. At last our comrades came up and pitched their camp by the river bank. . . . The Turks our enemies, within the city, feared us so much now on every side that none of them dared to meet with any of us for the space of about a fortnight. Soon, as we lay before Antioch, we found plenty of all things; the vineyards everywhere in full fruit, and the pits full of corn [as men store it in that dry climate], and the trees full of fruit, and many other bodily comforts. The Armenians and Syrians within the city came to us daily, going forth on pretence of flight, while their wives remained in the city. But they spied curiously into our ways and our quality, and told all this to the accursed Turks of the garrison. So, when these had learned how we were, they began little by little to issue forth and press our pilgrims on all sides; not only on one side, but everywhere they lay in wait for us, both to seaward and toward the hills. Not far from thence was a castle named Harenc, wherein were many very valiant Turks who frequently troubled us. When our leaders learned this, they were sore grieved, and sent knights to explore carefully where the Turks lay in wait; so our knights, as they rode in quest, came upon the ambush. As they retreated slowly to where they knew Bohemund was with his army, two of them were soon slain. Bohemund, at this news, arose with his men like the most valiant champion of Christ that he was; and the barbarians rushed upon them, seeing them to be few in number; nevertheless they joined in battle. Then were many of our foes slain; and others we took and led before the city gate and smote off their heads in order that the garrison might be disheartened. Others, however, went forth

THE WALLS OF ANTIOCH AS THEY STILL EXIST.

(*G. Rey: Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés*, 1871.)

from the city down to a certain gate, and shot at us so that their arrows fell into the lord Bohemund's corner of the camp, and one woman was smitten with an arrow."

Thus the siege dragged on; and, as Christmas drew near, food began to run short; the pilgrims had eaten up the supplies of the friendly Christians, and it was too dangerous to forage upon Turkish territories except in great force. Bohemund and the Count of Flanders led out a great foraging force of twenty thousand men, with the result that the Turkish garrison made a great sortie against the weakened host, and killed the bishop of Le Puy's standard-bearer with many others. Bohemund was at first successful; he beat a Turkish detachment, and took a good many horses; but the raid scarcely paid its way: "he returned to his host with his followers rather empty-handed than laden. So the Armenians and Syrians, seeing that our men had come back empty-handed, concerted together and scoured the mountains and places that they knew, curiously inquiring and buying corn and victuals, which they brought back to the host, wherein was terrible famine. They sold an ass's load for one hundred and twenty *solidi*.[1] Many of our men died at that point, having no money to buy at so dear a rate. So William the Carpenter [2] and Peter the Hermit, in this immense unhappiness and suffering, slipped furtively away. Tancred pursued them, and caught them and brought them back with ignominy, and took an oath of them that they would return willingly to the host and do satisfaction to the lords. . . . Yet afterwards the Carpenter, haunted by this great disgrace, made no long stay, but stole away from us. It was for our sins that God sent us this poverty and misery; for, in the whole host, you could not have found a thousand knights who had first-rate horses."

[1] Which would make 1,440 *denarii*. Foucher of Chartres gives details of the carcases that pilgrims were reduced to eat, even down to the hides of beasts.

[2] He was Viscount of Melun, and related to Hugh of Vermandois. He had marched in the People's Crusade, and had been taken as prisoner to Constantinople. Guibert explains his nickname "because in battle he hewed his way through like a carpenter," being of gigantic stature. But, adds Guibert, he was a coward behind his bluster, and had played the traitor in Spain.

At this conjuncture Tatikios, the Greek Emperor's commissioner, who accompanied the Crusaders, went back to Nicæa, promising to raise supplies there and bring them to the camp before Antioch. But he never kept his promise: "in perjury he remaineth and will ever remain. Thus we were oppressed by extreme necessity; for the Turks lay so hard upon us now that no man dared quit the tents; on that side the foe vexed us, and famine on the other, and we had neither help nor succour. The destitute common soldiers—*gens minuta et pauperrima*—fled to Cyprus, or the kingdom of Roum, or into the mountains. We could not get at the sea for fear of those abominable Turks; and we saw no way out of all this;" the more so, as the Turks were collecting "innumerable men" for an attack in force. The Crusaders determined to forestall this by attacking themselves; and the command was given by common consent to Bohemund, who formed them into six divisions; he himself, in the sixth, hung in the rear to strike when the time should come. The fight began, and "the shouts went up to heaven. All were mingled in fight, and clouds of arrows darkened the air. After the main force of the Turks came up from the rear, they attacked us fiercely, and we began to give ground. When the wise Bohemund saw this, he groaned, and commanded his constable, Robert Fitzgerald, saying: 'Go as swiftly as may be, like a valiant man, and bethink thee of the wise deeds of our valiant forefathers of old, and be thou eager in defence of God and the Holy Sepulchre; and know of a truth that this is no fleshly fight, but spiritual. Bear thyself therefore as a most valiant champion of Christ; go in peace, and may the Lord be with thee whithersoever thou goest.' So he, fortified everywhere with the sign of the cross, was like a lion that hath suffered hunger for three or four days, bursting forth from his den and roaring and thirsting for the blood of beasts; even as that lion falleth upon the flock, rending the sheep as they flee hither and thither, even so did Robert rage among

the Turkish ranks. He pressed upon them so vehemently that the tails of his glorious pennon fluttered over the heads of the Turks. Then the other [five] divisions, seeing how gloriously Bohemund's pennon had been carried beyond the rest, forthwith turned again; and our army fell with one accord upon the Turks, who were all amazed and betook themselves to flight. So we pursued them and cut them to pieces even as far as the Iron Bridge. Then the Turks hastened back to their camp, and caught up whatsoever they could find, and despoiled the whole camp; then they set fire to it and fled. The Armenians and Syrians, seeing that the Turks were utterly defeated, went forth and lay in wait in the defiles, and slew or took many of them. Thus, by God's will, our enemies were overcome on that day; and we recovered much, horses and other necessaries, whereof we had sore need."

Even a great defeat, however, could not be decisive so long as the Crusaders, by extending their line, offered constant chances to the foe. When they occupied fresh positions to cut off the stream of supplies which entered the city, and when they sent a detachment down to the sea for sailors and workmen to build siege engines, the garrison saw hopes of a successful sortie. "Seeing that our chiefs were absent (for they had gone to the sea the day before), we made ready and went to meet those who came up from the port. Then, seeing the Count of Provence and Bohemund coming and bringing these men, they began forthwith to yell and chatter and cry in the wildest uproar, surrounding our men on every hand, casting darts and arrows, and slashing cruelly among them. So fierce was their onset that our men began to flee into the nearest hills and wherever they saw any way of escape; he who could bestir himself quickly came off alive, but he who could not flee was slain. So, on that day, more than a thousand of our horsemen or foot-soldiers were martyred, going up to heaven in white attire, bearing each the robe of martyrdom in his hands, glorifying and magnifying our Lord

God, Three in One, through whom they triumphed in bliss, and saying with one accord, 'Wherefore dost Thou not defend our blood, which hath to-day been shed for Thy name?' So Bohemund turned aside from his march and came hastily with a few knights to us, who were congregated together. Then we, moved to wrath by the slaughter of our fellows, calling on the name of Christ and trusting in our pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, closed our ranks and marched to attack them; and we set upon them with one heart and mind. Now, therefore, these enemies of God and of ourselves were smitten with amazement and sore afraid; for they had thought to overcome and slay us even as they had done with the Count's men and Bohemund's. But God Almighty did not suffer this; for the soldiers of the true God, armed on every hand with the sign of the Cross, fell fiercely upon them and smote them valiantly; and they fled swiftly to enter in, by the midst of a narrow bridge. Those who could not pass this bridge alive, by reason of the exceeding press of men and horses, went there to eternal death, and rendered their wretched souls to the Devil and to the minions of Satan. So we got the upper hand, driving and hurling them into the river, so that the waters of that rushing stream seemed all red with Turkish blood. And if any one of them strove to creep by the piers of the bridge, or to swim and come to land, he was wounded by our men who lined the whole river-bank. The din and tumult, from our side and from theirs, echoed to heaven; showers of darts and arrows hid the sky and darkened the day; loud cries rang within and without [the city]. The Christian women of Antioch came to the loopholes in the wall, looking down upon the wretched fate of the Turks; and, unseen, they clapped with their hands, as is the wont of those women. The Armenians and Syrians, willingly or unwillingly, at the command of the Turkish captains, shot arrows at us. In that battle twelve Turkish emirs were slain in body and in soul, and fifteen hundred more of the wise and valiant soldiers

who were the best defenders of the city. Those who survived dared no longer to cry or chatter, by day or by night, as had been their wont until now. Night alone parted us all, and put an end to our fighting and shooting. Thus were our foes overcome in virtue of God and the Holy Sepulchre; and, from henceforth, they had no longer their former valour, either in voice or in deed. That day we took a rich supply of horses from them, and of many other things which we sorely needed. Next day, at dawn, other Turks issued from the city and gathered all the stinking bodies of Turks which they could find on the bank (excepting those which lay in the river bed), and buried them at Machumaria, which is beyond the bridge, at the city gate. With these corpses they buried mantles, gold bezants, bows, arrows, and much other gear which I cannot recount. So our men, hearing this, made ready and hastened to that devils' yard, and ordered them to be unburied, breaking into the tombs and dragging the bodies forth. So they cast all forth into a certain pit, and brought to our tents the heads that had been cut off, in order that we might number them exactly, besides four horses' loads of heads which were taken to the sea for the envoys of the Emir of Cairo," with whom we were trying to negotiate an alliance against the Turks of Asia Minor, on the strength of religious dissensions which had broken out among the Mohammedan princes. "The Turks, when they saw this, were grieved and sick even unto death, for daily, in their dolour, they did nought but wail and lament. So on the third day we joined together and, with great exultation, began to build the castle of which I have spoken, using the stones which we had taken from the Turkish tombs." This fort checked Turkish supplies from that side, and left the Crusaders freedom to scour the country. Only one weak point still remained; the leaders deliberated how to fortify it; and "Tancred stood forth first before the rest, saying, 'If I knew that I should in any way profit thereby, I would busily fortify that castle with

none but mine own men, and would thus boldly block that way whereby our foes often harass us.' So they promised him forthwith four hundred marks."

The city was now more effectually invested; yet the siege had lasted more than six months, and was destined to last one more. Bohemund, who has hitherto been most conspicuous of all for Norman valour and resourcefulness in battle, gained the final step by Norman cunning. He got into touch with one of the Turkish emirs, Firuz, to whom he promised riches and honours if he would betray the city. But Bohemund made it a necessary condition that, if Antioch were taken, he should be appointed prince of the city. The other leaders refused: "We will all share this city equally, as we have all borne equal labour." Bohemund insisted; and their opposition was broken down by rapidly gathering dangers. Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, had gathered an army estimated at 200,000 men, and was marching to the relief of Antioch; the Western princes at last accepted Bohemund's terms, and the city was taken only three days before Kerboga appeared. The traitor Firuz admitted Bohemund by night into the three towers which he commanded; and sunrise showed his banner flying from a hill in face of the inner citadel. "Then all our men hastened and entered through the gates into the city, slaying the Turks and Saracens whom they met, save only those who had fled up into the citadel, and others who escaped through the gates and fled. . . . All the streets of the city, far and wide, were full of corpses, so that no man could tarry there for the intolerable stench; there was no lane by which we could go except over Turkish corpses."

But these victorious besiegers were now to be besieged. Three days later, Kerboga came up; the Crusaders met him before the walls, but could not stand against superior numbers; they were driven back into the city in such confusion that "many were crushed to death by their comrades at the gate. Meanwhile, that Thursday, others fought all day until evensong, some within the

city and others without. Then William de Grantmesnil and Aubrey his brother, and Guy Trossel and Lambert le Pauvre, affrighted by this fight which had lasted all through the day, furtively let themselves down from the wall and fled on foot to the sea, so that their hands and their feet were worn to the bone; and many others, whom I know not, fled with them. Wherefore, coming to our ships, which lay at Port St. Simeon, they said to the sailors, 'Wretches, why tarry ye here? All our men are slain, and we have hardly escaped from death; for the Turkish army is besieging the rest at Antioch on all sides.' At these tidings they were amazed; and, seized with fear, they ran to their ships and put out to sea. Then the Turks came and slew all whom they found; and they burned and plundered all the ships that had remained in the river. At length we who were left found ourselves unable to bear the weight of their onset; so we built a wall between ourselves and them, which we guarded night and day. Meanwhile we were reduced to such straits that we ate our horses and asses." And, again, "many died of hunger; for a little loaf sold for a bezant; of wine I will not even speak. . . . Men sold a hen for fifteen *solidi*, an egg for two, a walnut for a penny. . . . Some men boiled and ate the hides of horses and camels and asses and oxen or buffaloes. . . . Such were the tribulations and famine and alarms that we suffered for twenty-six days!" The pilgrims were too dispirited to attack the citadel; Bohemund set fire to all that upper quarter of the town, "burning nearly two thousand buildings, churches, and houses." Then he built a wall and erected engines to face the citadel; and on this waste of no-man's-land Turk and Christian skirmished daily with varying success. The Count of Chartres, "whom all our leaders had chosen to be our chief, feigned a sore sickness before the capture of Antioch, and basely withdrew to another town called Alexandreta. Daily we pressed him to come to our rescue, seeing that we were shut up in the city and destitute of succour. But he, when he heard that the

Turks had surrounded and were besieging us, crept stealthily up the nearest hill which looked down on Antioch, and saw their innumerable tents; then he was sore afraid, and fled with his army back to his camp, and stripped it bare and retreated in haste." He found the Emperor at a town between Dorylæum and Iconium, and reported the Antioch army as lost. The Emperor summoned Guy, Bohemund's brother, with other chiefs, and counselled retreat, lest their army also should be involved in the disaster. "When the honourable Count Guy heard this false counsel, he began forthwith to weep and to wail with bitter lamentation; and they all cried with one voice, 'O Thou true God, Three in One, wherefore hast Thou suffered this to be done? Wherefore hast Thou permitted Thy people, that followeth after Thee, to fall into their enemies' hand, and hast so soon abandoned those who would fain have freed Thy Sepulchre and Thy Pilgrims' Way? Certainly, if these tidings be true which we have heard from these wicked men, we and the rest of the Christians will leave Thee and make no more mention of Thee, and none of us will dare henceforth to name Thy name.' And this dismal talk ran through the whole army, so that not one of them—neither bishop nor abbot nor cleric nor layman—dared for many days to call upon the name of Christ.[1] For no man could console Guy, wailing and beating his breast and crying, 'Alas! my lord Bohemund, thou honour and glory of the whole world, whom all men feared and loved! Woe to wretched me! I am not found worthy to see thy most honourable face; I who desired that above all else. Would that I might

[1] Guibert puts this even more strongly. He makes this address to God end: "Thou hast thrust the whole Christian world into the ditch of utter desperation and unbelief, and hast given to the most iniquitous of men an incontestable boldness, to all eternity, against Thy servants. No man in future will trust greatly in Thee, seeing that those who thought themselves Thy servants in a more special sense than all other mortals, are being overwhelmed in this unmerited ruin. Say, therefore, most pitiful Lord, how shall they have the face to call upon Thee henceforward, when Thine own servants shall expect an issue like unto this?".

die for thee, beloved friend and lord. Wherefore did I not die when I left my mother's womb? Wherefore have I lived to see this mournful day? Wherefore was I not drowned in the sea, or cast from my horse to break my neck? Would that I had been happy enough to receive martyrdom with thee, and to behold thy glorious end!' So, when all men pressed round to console him and put an end to his mourning, he returned to himself and said, 'Do ye believe this half-grey feckless knight? Truly I have never heard of any feat of arms that he hath done; but here hath he gone back, basely and dishonourably, like a miserable recreant; know ye, then, that all the tidings brought by this wretch are false.' Meanwhile the Emperor commanded his own men, saying, 'Go, lead all the men of this land into Bulgaria, and explore and lay waste every corner, in order that, when the Turks [have destroyed the army at Antioch and] come hither, they may find nothing to sustain them.' So our men, whether they would or no, must needs turn back, grieving bitterly, even unto death; and many of the pilgrims did indeed die, being sick and unable to march strongly with the army; so they were left to die by the way. But all the rest returned to Constantinople."

This was, in fact, the most terrible crisis of the whole campaign; for it was mid-June, and these summer heats were always among the most fatal forces against which the pilgrims contended. Here, as in the People's Crusade, the very dangers and sufferings which disheartened the multitude, roused a few to still higher enthusiasm; and the clergy, in especial, exerted themselves to make men remember past vows and look forward to future rewards; now or never was the time to fan every spark of religion into flame. "A certain priest" had a vivid vision of Christ, with the Virgin Mary and St. Peter at either hand. "He said: 'Forthwith I fell at His feet and besought Him humbly to help us in this anguish that lay upon us. Then the Lord answered, "I have indeed helped you, and will help

you again. I permitted you to take Nicæa and to conquer in all your battles; and I have led you to this place and pitied you in all your sufferings at the siege. Lo! I gave you timely help and sent you safe and sound into this city; and behold! ye are working much wickedness with Christian paramours and evil pagan women, wherefrom an intolerable stench goeth up to heaven." [1] Then the Blessed Virgin and St. Peter fell at His feet, praying and beseeching Him to help His people in this tribulation. . . . My lords, if ye believe not that I speak the truth, then suffer me now to ascend this tower and to cast myself down; if I am unhurt, believe in my truth; but if I suffer any hurt, then behead me or cast me into the fire.' Then the Bishop of Le Puy commanded that they should bring the Gospels and a cross, that the priest might swear to the truth of his tale. In that hour all our leaders accorded together to swear a solemn oath that none of them would flee, whether for life or for death, so long as he should be alive. Bohemund is said to have sworn first; then the Count of Toulouse and Robert of Normandy, and Duke Godfrey and the Count of Flanders. But Tancred swore and promised that, so long as he had forty knights to follow him, he would persist immovably not only in this present conflict but in the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The whole company of Christians, hearing of this oath, exulted greatly."

Still more effective was the episode of the Holy Lance. A priest named Peter Bartholomew, whose character does not seem to have been otherwise calculated to inspire confidence, saw repeated visions of St. Andrew, assuring him that the church of his brother-apostle Peter at Antioch contained a priceless relic, the lance which had pierced Christ on the cross. The rest, incredulous at first, were gradually impressed by his pertinacity; St. Andrew had assured that the victory

[1] Guibert, who corroborates this complaint, has told us on a previous page that the pilgrims had kept far better discipline before their capture of the city.

should fall to that party which bore this lance in battle, and the matter seemed at least worth a trial. We have seen already how directly these men yielded to their emotion, and what sudden gusts of change swept over their minds, even beyond the variable moods that must always sway at moments of bitter trial. "So we, hearing the discourses of this man who brought us Christ's revelation through the Apostle's words, hastened at once to the spot in St. Peter's church which he had pointed out. And then thirteen men dug from daybreak to evensong; and thus that man found the lance, as he had indicated; and they took it with great joy and fear, and immense rejoicings arose in the city." From other contemporaries we know that Peter had had opportunities of secreting this lance-head himself in the pit; and, as we shall see later, this was recognized by many of the army when discussion and reflection had done their work. But for the moment this story of the lance-head was decisive; and men who yesterday had scarcely spirit to defend were now eager to attack. In this desperate emergency they at last realized the necessity of undivided command; Bohemund was chosen at a council of war; for the first and almost the only time on this Crusade, the whole army owed obedience to one single general. "From that very hour we held a council of war; and our leaders decided at once to send an envoy to these enemies of Christ, who should plainly question them through some interpreter, saying: 'Wherefore have ye been so overweening as to enter upon the land of the Christians, and to pitch your camps there, and to stay and trouble the Christians?' So, when this resolve was taken, they found certain men, to wit, Peter the Hermit and Herluin." They exhorted Kerboga to conversion, and offered to allow him to return unmolested, bag and baggage, from whence he had come. His answer, if we may believe the *Gesta*, though "fierce," was distinctly milder than we might have expected. He repudiated the idea of conversion for himself, but offered it to the Christians, with liberal promises of

reward: "not one of you shall serve henceforth on foot, but ye shall all be mounted knights, even as we are." Otherwise, he assured them that they had only to choose between death and slavery. "So our envoys came quickly back, reporting all that these most cruel men had answered. Herluin is said to have known both languages; and he was interpreter to Peter the Hermit. Meanwhile our army was in fear on both sides, and doubtful what to do; for on one hand they were constrained by the torments of hunger, and, on the other, by fear of the Turks. At length, after we had fasted and held processions for three days, from church to church, and confessed and had absolution for our sins, and had faithfully communicated with the Body and Blood of Christ, and given alms and caused masses to be celebrated, then we arrayed ourselves in six divisions within the city." The Bishop of Le Puy's division carried the Holy Lance. "The sixth was led by the wise Bohemund. So our bishops and priests and clerks and monks, in their sacred robes, went out with us, bearing crosses, praying and beseeching God to save and guard us from all harm. Others stood at the battlements of the gate, with holy crosses in their hands, signing and blessing us. Thus, well arrayed and protected by the sign of the cross, we marched forth from the gate. When Kerboga saw the Frankish divisions, in such fair array, issuing one by one from the gate, then he said: 'Let them come out, and we shall get them all the better into our power.' But when they were all come out, and he saw how vast a host we were, then he was sore afraid, and commanded his emir that, if he saw a fire kindled at the head of the host, he should at once call a retreat for the whole army, knowing that the day was lost." The fight was at first confused and uncertain, the Turks, as usual, retiring before the mail-clad knights, but harassing and seeking to outflank them. "So their troops began to come forth on both sides and to surround us on every hand, wounding us with darts and arrows. There came forth also innumerable soldiers

from the mountains, riding on white horses and with banners all of white. So we, seeing this army, were utterly ignorant what this might mean, and who these might be, until they knew it for Christ's rescue, led by St. George, St. Mercurius, and St. Demetrius.[1] These words must be believed, for many of our men saw it. Then the Turks on the side towards the sea, finding that they could bear up no longer, set fire to the grass, that those who were in the camp might flee; and they, knowing the sign, caught up all that was of value and fled. But our men gathered gradually where their strongest forces fought around their camp. Duke Godfrey and the Count of Flanders and Hugh of Vermandois rode along the waterside, where was their main body; these were the first who, armed with the sign of the cross, fell with one accord upon the Turks. The other divisions, seeing this, fell upon them likewise; and a cry went up from the Persians and Turks. So we, calling upon the true and living God, rode against them and began the fight in the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Sepulchre; and, with God's help, we had the upper hand. So the Turks trembled and took to flight; and we pursued them alongside their tents; thus the soldiers of Christ loved better to pursue the Turks than to seek any plunder; and we pursued them even to the Iron Bridge, and thence to Tancred's Castle. But they abandoned their pavilions, with gold and silver and many ornaments; sheep also and oxen, horses and mules, camels and asses, corn and wine, meal and many other things that we needed. The Armenians and Syrians of those parts, hearing that we had conquered the Turks, hastened to the mountains to cut them off; and they slew all that they could catch. But we returned to Antioch with great joy, praising and blessing God, who had given the victory unto His people."

There remained only the citadel, hopeless now of

[1] It was believed that St. Mercurius had directed from heaven that dart which killed Julian the Apostate. He was said to be a soldier-saint who had been tortured and martyred in the Decian persecution.

defence. The Count of Toulouse sent his banner to the emir, who planted it on the main tower. Then came Bohemund, took down the Count's, and set up his own banner, "which the emir received with great joy, and made a compact with him, that those Pagans who wished to become Christians should join Bohemund's company, and those who would not should be let go, whole and unhurt. . . . Not long afterwards the emir was baptized, with those who preferred to acknowledge Christ."

This quarrel for Antioch between Bohemund and the Count was only one of many in this Crusade. And to the rivalry of the chiefs we must attribute, to some extent at least, the degeneration of the Holy Lance from epic to tragi-comedy. Raymond had first tried to hold two forts round Antioch, from which Bohemund dislodged him; then, in order to atone for his disappointment by creating a principality for himself in the south, he laid siege to Arca near Tripoli. By this time, the Holy Lance had evidently become a bone of contention, as so many relics had been in the past. Not only was it a source of income, but it was also a talisman for its possessor, the Count of Toulouse; and this naturally stirred the jealousy of the Normans, who possessed no charm but their wits and their courage. Arnulf, a Norman priest who was Duke Robert's chaplain, insisted publicly on the weakness of the evidence; and the Bishop of Le Puy, who had been a champion of the relic, was now dead. Then (as Guibert tells us) "a foul murmur of excessive incredulity arose, some men saying that Peter had found it only by a trick, and that it was not our Lord's, but any common lance. Therefore the common folk began to congregate in great numbers and to murmur; so that their fallacious words gradually corrupted those who had believed and had been glad to venerate the relic. They demanded proof that the thing had been found, and demanded an ordeal for the finder. Peter was constrained to restore these men's faith; he was compelled, for the sole cause of curing their unfaith,

to submit to what was violently demanded from him. Therefore, by his direction, two bonfires were piled up, with scarce the space of a cubit between them; the multitude, eager for any novelty, heaped much stuff upon them; and a very narrow path was left, since the wind blew the flames on either side, between the burning piles of wood. Therefore Peter, as was right, first addressed a piteous prayer to the merciful God, who is the Truth, and apart from whose will he knew himself to have done nothing in this matter; then he flew as swiftly as he could along the path of the furious fire, and at once returned by the same way by which he had come. All the Western chivalry stationed in those parts were present at this spectacle; and, in face of this strange deed of daring, each anticipated the dubious issue in the direction which his own mind suggested. When at last he returned, as I have said, he was welcomed by infinite crowds of people as he came forth from the flames; and seeing that he had emerged unhurt, and with the object of keeping something of him for relics, whether from his body or from his garments, they so plucked him hither and thither and stretched him to right and to left that he, helpless amid this tumult of dragging or thrusting men, gave up the ghost. For being already, as we may say, only half alive, what with fear and what with the marvel of destruction that impended (but for God's mercy), on the one hand, and, on the other, of his sudden rescue from the fire, he was now shut in by this rush of the surging crowd; and, while he still shook with exhaustion from past anxiety, his breath was easily quenched. So, now that the man was dead, the slippery and inconstant crowd began to waver again in far more hopeless doubt: some men expounded this fiery ordeal one way, others another; these reported him as burned, those, as having come forth unhurt from the flames; they began to quarrel with each other, and to upbraid each other for having slain this man for nothing. But, however the mind of the common herd might run, we know that that glorious

Bishop [of Le Puy] embraced this Holy Lance with all veneration; so that, by his own command, his body was buried in that same spot wherein it had been found." [1]

[1] The further history of this relic, as of many others, is confused; it had the alternations of worship and neglect. When Pero Tafur was at Nuremberg in 1438, "They showed me many relics, among them a lance of steel of the length of an ell, and they told us that it was the very lance which pierced our Lord's side; but I said that I had seen the real one in Constantinople; and I believe that, if the great people had not been with me, I should have been in peril from the Germans for what I said" (*Travels*, p. 211).

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCES' CRUSADE—III

After this eight months' siege of Antioch, and the three weeks' defence of the city against Kerboga, "we rested there with joy and great gladness for five months and eight days." Then the march upon Jerusalem was resumed, but interrupted by constant quarrels among the princes, to the disgust of those who, like our Norman knight, really meant business. These men, the rank and file, were not withheld by private ambitions from looking forward to Jerusalem as their immediate goal; and they actually threatened to destroy Antioch rather than let it remain as a bone of contention for Bohemund and the Count of Toulouse. Fortunately for them, the Mohammedan dissensions were even more bitter. If our pilgrims had had to meet strong rulers and disciplined armies such as those of the first Turkish conquerors, they would certainly have failed. But four brothers, at that moment, were fighting with each other for the Sultan's throne; and the twenty-eight emirs who marched nominally under Kerboga were his rivals or his enemies; in the last great battle there had been little unity of action, and the army had disbanded at the first real charge of the Crusaders.

We may follow our knight of the *Gesta* again on his march to Jerusalem. The smaller towns were stormed without much difficulty: "The pilgrims, soldiers of Christ, went forthwith against that town and attacked

it on all sides and took it forthwith. So they took all the inhabitants and slew all who would not accept Christianity, keeping the others alive who were willing to acknowledge Christ." But when they came to the great cities, then those towers and walls which the Turks inherited from the Greek emperors threatened to prove an insuperable obstacle.

Marra, a great city south of Antioch, was invested by Raymond of Toulouse, with little effect; presently Bohemund joined him, but a general assault failed. "So our chiefs saw that they laboured in vain; and Raymond caused a strong and lofty wooden castle to be built. This castle was built by the engineers upon four wheels; above were many knights and Everard the Hunter, blowing his horn with all his might; below were armed knights who ran the castle up to the walls of the town, over against a certain tower. The pagan folk, seeing this, built forthwith an engine wherewith they cast huge stones against our castle, so that they nearly slew our knights. Moreover, they cast Greek fire upon it, thinking to burn and destroy it; but God Almighty willed not that it should burn this time.[1] Now the castle overtopped all the walls of the city; so our knights in the upper story, William of Montpellier and many others, cast huge stones upon those who manned the walls, and smote so sore upon their shields that shield and foe fell together down into the city and to death. Thus wrought these knights; while others held our glorious standards aloft on shafts, and sought to drag men to themselves with lances and iron hooks; and thus they fought until evensong. Behind our castle were priests and clerks, robed in their sacred vestments, praying and beseeching God to defend His own people, to exalt Christendom and abase Paganism. On the other side our knights fought daily with them, setting ladders against the wall; but the Pagans were in

[1] Greek fire was petroleum mingled with sulphur and other similar ingredients; it seems to have been explosive as well as inflammatory. The Turks had borrowed this invention from Greece.

such might that our men could gain no ground. Yet Gulfer de Lasturs[1] was the first to mount upon the wall; but the ladder broke with the multitude that pressed behind him; yet he himself, with a few others, had reached the top; and they cleared the wall all around. Others found another ladder whereby many knights and footmen climbed the wall. So the Saracens attacked them so stoutly, both from the wall and from the earth, shooting arrows and darting their spears at close quarters, that many of our men were afraid and let themselves down again by the wall. Yet those most valiant men who held their ground bore all this onset until others, who were in the lower story of the castle, had undermined the wall. Then the Saracens, seeing that we had mined their wall, were panic-stricken and fled into the city. All this was done on Saturday the eleventh of December, at the hour of evensong. So Bohemund sent word by an interpreter to the Saracen chiefs, that they and their wives and children and their other possessions should get themselves into a palace which stands above the gate, and he would defend them from death. But all our men burst into the city, and each man seized for his own whatsoever he could find in the houses or the store-rooms; then, when day broke, wheresoever they found any of the Saracens, whether male or female, they slew them. There was no corner of the city that was clear of Saracen corpses, and we could scarce pass along the streets without treading on some body. At length Bohemund seized upon those whom he had bidden to go into the palace, and took from them all that they had, gold and silver and other ornaments, and some of them he slew, others he sent to be sold at Antioch. So the Franks tarried one month and four days in that city; and there the Bishop of Orange [who had done so much to exhort us to piety

[1] Lasturs was a castle in the Limousin. According to a legend, Gulfer saved a lion from a snake; the beast thenceforward followed him like a dog. When Gulfer sailed home, and the shipmen refused to take the lion on board, it swam after the ship until it was drowned.

SIEGE TOWER AND GREEK FIRE.

(*Viollet-le-Duc: Dict. d'Arch.*, vol. i., p. 365.)

and perseverance during the siege] died. Some of our men did not find what they needed in this city, what with the long delay and the pressure of famine; for they could find nothing to seize outside the city; but they cut open the bodies of the dead, because they found bezants hidden in their bellies; others, again, cut their flesh into slices and cooked them to eat.[1] But Bohemund could not come to an agreement with the Count of Toulouse concerning that which he demanded; and he departed in wrath to Antioch."

The quarrel thus came to a crisis; for all were sick of these dissensions. Many soldiers threatened to march off to Jerusalem without their leaders, bearing only the Holy Lance; others actually began to demolish the walls of newly captured Marra, in order to cut short all quarrels for its possession. The chiefs held a council of war; Godfrey of Bouillon here came definitely to the front, supported the soldiers' claims, and forced Raymond for the time to forgo his personal ambitions. With Bohemund now at Antioch, the pilgrims attained unity of command now for the second time, and a far more disinterested, if less able, commander-in-chief.

Here, on the march down to Jerusalem, the pilgrims went always parallel with the coast; and the ships of Genoa and Pisa and Constantinople were able to help them. During the siege of Arca, these "brought plenty of provisions, wheat and wine and flesh and cheese and barley and oil, so that there was plenty and abundance in the whole army." This, with the occasional marches through very fertile districts, make a chequered story. Slaughter and great privations alternate with lands that flow with milk and honey; and these patches of plenty, in that climate, were perhaps almost as fatal as hunger and thirst. "So great was the slaughter of Pagans and

[1] The epic, *Chanson d'Antioche*, composed about 1130, tells us that Peter the Hermit said to his starving men, "Do you not see these dead Turks? That is excellent food." It tells also how some men roasted and ate the corpses, and adds, "They loved Turk flesh better than spiced peacock."

bloodshed, that even the water flowing through the city seemed to flow red into the cisterns ;" " At that siege many of our men received a happy martyrdom ;" " So great were the enemy's forces that they surrounded us on all sides, and slew Achard de Montmellon and the poor folk on foot : but our men, calling on the name of Christ, fell so fiercely upon those unbelievers that each knight bore his foe to the ground." Of the happier days, here is a specimen. " We went forth from thence and came to a beautiful city, full filled with all good things, in a valley called Kephaliam. The inhabitants, hearing that the Franks were come, left their city and their gardens full of green stuff, and their houses full of provender, and fled. On the third day we went forth from that city and passed over a lofty and immense mountain and entered into the valley of Sem, wherein was the greatest plenty of all good things ; and there we dwelt for almost a fortnight. Hard by was a fortified town wherein were gathered a vast multitude of Pagans. Our men attacked it, and would have taken it, but that the Saracens cast out immense numbers of beasts ; so our men returned, bringing all these good things to their tents." In the night, the inhabitants fled ; " so our men entered in and found every abundance of corn and wine and meal and oil, and whatsoever they needed."

Let us bear these details in mind as we follow their march on the map. They left Marra in mid-January 1099. A month later they were before the walls of Arca, where Peter Bartholomew had his ordeal of fire ; here, after a fruitless siege of three months, they broke up their camp and marched to Tripoli. Thence they marched by the coast, through Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Cæsarea ; here they turned inland through places of Bible fame, Ramah and Emmaus and Bethlehem, to Jerusalem. For this last act our Norman knight shall speak more fully again. By this time he had only 25,000 companions, out of the hundreds of thousands with whom he had fought at Nicæa ; 25,000

wearied but veteran soldiers, men who for three years had faced everything and survived everything, and were now ready to stake body and soul upon this final throw.

"So at last, in gladness and joy, we arrived at this city of Jerusalem on the 7th of June, and laid fierce siege to it. Robert Duke of Normandy besieged it from the north, hard by the church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, where he was gladly stoned for Christ's sake; next to him was Count Robert of Flanders. From the east, Duke Godfrey and Tancred attacked, and the Count of Toulouse from the south, on Mount Sion, around the church of St. Mary, Mother of our Lord, where the Lord supped with His disciples. On the third day some of our men, Raymond Pileto and Raymond of Turin, and many others, went out to skirmish and found two hundred Arabs; and Christ's soldiers fought against those unbelievers and, with God's help, utterly routed them, slaying many and taking thirty horses. Then, on Tuesday [13th], we attacked the city in force, and so fiercely that, if ladders had been ready, it would have fallen into our hands. Yet we did beat down the lesser wall, and we set one ladder up against the greater; here our knights went up and fought hand to hand with lance and sword; and many were slain, but more of our enemies. But at this siege we could find no bread to buy for about ten days, until the convoy came up from our ships. Moreover, we were sore vexed with thirst, so that in great terror and fear we went six miles to let our horses and other beasts drink. For we were supported by the pool of Siloam at the foot of Mount Sion; but even among us the water was dearly sold." The enemy fell upon the convoys from Jaffa; and, though the Crusaders drove them off in the end, it was not without great loss. Meanwhile the water-famine increased: "We were so grieved with thirst that we sewed hides of oxen and buffaloes wherein we brought water from a distance of some six miles; from these vessels we sucked stinking water; and,

what with the foul drink and the barley-bread, we were daily in utter need and affliction. For the Saracens lay in wait for us at every fountain and pool; and they hid with their beasts in their own dens and caverns.

"Then our leaders took counsel how they could storm the city with engines, that we might enter in to adore the Sepulchre of our Saviour. So they made [with the help of Genoese mariners from Jaffa] two castles of wood and many other machines." Yet these made no immediate impression; the pilgrims had now been five weeks under these privations, and it was evident that they must make a desperate bid for victory. "All this while we were so tortured with thirst that a man could not buy enough water for a *denarius* to quench his thirst. By night and day, therefore, on Wednesday and Thursday [July 13th and 14th], we made a fierce onset on every side. But, before we attacked, our bishops and priests preached to us and commanded that all men should go in procession in God's honour around the city, and should faithfully fast and pray and give alms. So on the Friday, at the first light of dawn, we attacked on every side, yet we could do no harm; wherefore we were all in amazement and utter fear. But, when that hour drew nigh wherein our Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafed for our sakes to suffer the pain of the Cross, our knights made a valiant onset from a castle, to wit, Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustace. Then one of our knights, Lethold by name [who came from Tournai], gained the summit of the wall. As soon as he was there, all the defenders fled along the walls and throughout the city, and we followed after them, slaying and maiming, even to the Temple of Solomon, where the slaughter was so great that our men trod ankle-deep in blood. Count Raymond, on the south, brought his army and his castle up to the wall; but a very deep moat lay between. Then our men took counsel how to fill the moat; and heralds proclaimed that any man bringing three boulders to the moat should have one *denarius*; yet this filling lasted three days and

nights. At last, when the moat was filled, they brought the castle up to the wall; but the defenders fought fiercely against us, with fire and stones. Then the Count,[1] hearing that the Franks were in the city, said to his own soldiers, 'Why do ye delay? Lo! all the Franks are already within!' So the Emir, who was in the Tower of David [the citadel on the west of the walls], surrendered to the Count, and opened to him that gate where the Christians were wont to pay their tribute. Thus our pilgrims burst in, pursuing and slaying the Saracens even unto Solomon's Temple, wherein they gathered together and fought most fiercely against us all day long, so that their blood flowed through the whole Temple. At last, when the Pagans had been conquered, our men caught many in the Temple, both men and women; and they slew whom they would, and whom they would they took alive. On the roof of the Temple was a very great crowd of Pagans, men and women, to whom Tancred and Gaston de Béziers gave their own banners [in sign of protection]; and forthwith they ran throughout the city, taking gold and silver, and horses and mules, and houses full of all good things. So our men came rejoicing, and weeping with excess of joy, to adore the Sepulchre of our Saviour Jesus; and they paid Him their chief debt. Then, when day broke again, they climbed warily to the Temple roof and fell upon these Saracen men and women, beheading them with the edge of the sword; but some cast themselves down headlong from the Temple. When Tancred saw this, he was very wroth.

"Then we held a council, that every man should pray and give alms to the intent that God should choose whom He would to reign over the rest and to rule Jerusalem. They commanded also that all the dead Saracens should be cast forth, for the unendurable stench; because the whole city was full of their corpses; so the living Saracens dragged the dead outside the gates,

[1] As a Provençal, he was very conscious of the separation between his country and northern France.

and heaped them mountain-high like houses. No man ever heard or saw such slaughter of Pagan folk; for they were heaped for the burning like stacks, and no man knoweth their number but God alone. But Count Raymond brought the Emir and those who were with him safe and sound to Ascalon. So, on the eighth day after the capture of Jerusalem, they chose Godfrey as prince of the city, to beat down the Pagans and protect the Christians." It will be noted that our author does not use the word *king*, nor does any other, in Godfrey's case. It may be true, as a later author tells us, that he refused to be crowned with gold in the city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns. Another author tells us that Robert of Normandy refused to let himself be elected; another, Raymond of Toulouse; but we must probably ascribe these stories to English and Provençal patriotism. If Adhémar of Le Puy had still been alive he would probably have been chosen, and the constitution of this new State would have been theocratic. Even as it was, some would have preferred to elect the Churchman before the layman, and to put the former's authority above the latter's. But, in fact, the Patriarch was elected a few days after Godfrey; that same Arnulf who had doubted of the Holy Lance, and who was chaplain to Robert of Normandy.[1]

The Sultan of Egypt came up now with a large army, too late to save Jerusalem but hoping to retake it. The Crusaders, though far inferior in numbers, marched out to meet him at Ascalon; and they found these Egyptian levies far less formidable than they had found the Turks. Arnulf took the lead as Adhémar would have done. "At eventide, the Patriarch bade his heralds proclaim throughout the host that all should be ready for battle with the first rays of dawn; and he commanded, under pain of excommunication, that no man should pay heed to any booty until the battle was finished; then, when the fight was over, he might return in joy and felicity

[1] Strictly, the election was only provisional, and his title was that of 'Vicar." But the *Gesta* calls him "Patriarch" outright.

to take whatsoever God had predestined for him. . . . As we advanced, the Pagans stood ready for battle. Each had his own water-bottle at his neck, that he might drink thereof in pursuit of us; but, by God's grace, they found no such occasion. . . . They were countless in multitude; no man could tell their number, save God alone; but so great and strong was God's power accompanying us, that we swept them away. For these enemies of God stood as blinded and stupefied; and, though they stared at the soldiers of Christ, they saw nothing and dared not to stand against the Christians, for God had stricken them with panic fear. In their terror they climbed trees and hoped to hide there; but we brought them down to earth with spears and arrows and swords; others fell to the earth, not daring to stand up against us; so we hewed them in pieces as a butcher hews his beasts in the slaughter-house. . . . Then our men turned to their tents and took countless spoils of gold and silver and heaps of all good things; horses and mules, asses and camels, sheep and oxen, and gear innumerable. For all the mountains and hills and lowlands were covered with the multitude of those beasts; and we found heaps of weapons; we carried off whatsoever we would, and burned the rest with fire. Then our pilgrims came back with joy to Jerusalem, bearing with them all good things, camels and asses laden with bread and biscuit and meal and cheese and bread [1] and oil and all good things whereof we had need. This battle was fought on the 12th of August [1099], by the free grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory now and for evermore, world without end. Let every spirit say *Amen*."

With those words our Norman knight leaves us for ever. Such a guide, naturally, lacks the greatest width of view; but he has shown us with transparent honesty the mind of those soldiers who, by their steadfast prosecution of a resolve natural to their age, and by the

[1] *Sic.* His breathless haste of enumeration here, as often elsewhere, is like a child's.

heavy price which they had paid, deserved this final victory. No man is better qualified than he to show us the Crusader in the concrete; let us now pass on to consider the Crusades from a more abstract and less individual point of view.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES

This newly-founded kingdom of Jerusalem had a very definite individuality of its own. It owed nothing to the Emperor; therefore it altogether ignored his authority. It owed much to the Pope; therefore the Papal Legate had extraordinary constitutional powers; indeed, the earliest of them claimed privileges which would practically have set him above the king; the clergy acquired enormous wealth and corresponding immunities. The foundation of the military Orders of Hospitallers and Templars, half-knights, half-monks, added to this ecclesiastical preponderance. These Orders formed the military backbone of the kingdom, since the king could not always depend on the obedience of his feudal levies, even though he had the constitutional right of calling them out at any time, and for wider service than the feudal levies of the West. The Hospitallers and Templars, therefore, leapt into immediate popularity; they attracted numerous endowments, and became enormously wealthy; and they and their possessions were privileged and intangible, for they held directly from the Pope. They thus formed a state within the State; their castles were of immense strength; some, like the famous "Krak des Chevaliers," were in a position to withstand almost any besieging force. The knights, who were all of noble birth, had their attendant *sergents* of their own race, and numerous

mercenaries, *Turcopoli*, enlisted from the native populations; again, they had the right of making their own treaties with the Saracens without consulting the king. Moreover, the royal power was further weakened by the absence of any steady and organized central system of taxation, and by the independence of the feudal lords. It had been the rule that any chief who could take a town and plant his banner first there should become its recognized lord; we have already seen, for instance, at Antioch, this scramble for possession between Bohemund and Raymond. The State, therefore, was thus built up out of a number of baronies claiming every traditional feudal privilege; and here, more truly than in any other country, we may speak of a feudal *system*.

The King of Jerusalem had but a small territory of his own; upon his kingdom depended the three minor principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa, which claimed protection from the central authority and yet repudiated its control. The kingdom was at first elective; only in later generations did the hereditary principle assert itself. The high court of justice was a court of barons; even the king must submit to its decisions. Beneath this was a court of burgesses, in which the merchants settled for themselves all disputes within their own order; for the shipmen and merchants had done so much to ensure the success of the Crusade, and were still so necessary to the kingdom, that these powers came naturally to them. Beneath these two classes of knights and burgesses were the native inhabitants. These were mainly Christians upon whom the Mussulmans, after their custom, had lived; thus there was a military caste supported by a labouring subject population of artisans and peasants. Under the new-comers, these artisans and peasants were no less definitely a subject class; for they were mere Greek Christians, and the conquerors were of the Latin Church. Some of the bishoprics were suppressed to pay the working expenses of the new kingdom; so that, by a strange paradox, there were fewer Christian bishops in

THE "KRAK DES CHEVALIERS" RESTORED.

(*G. Rey: Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés* (1871), Plate vii.)

this Christian realm than there had been under the Mohammedan domination. Moreover, by a very natural process, the conquering class was subject to frequent changes; men made their fortunes, went home, and were replaced by others come fresh from the coast to seek fresh fortunes; so that, except at moments of exceptional enthusiasm, it was not the best elements of Western society that came out to settle in the East. Foucher of Chartres, chaplain to Kings Baldwin I. and II. of Jerusalem, had also followed part of the first Crusade in the train of Robert of Normandy, and he writes in full knowledge of the subject. His description of Syrian society under the new kingdom is so natural and so enlightening that it deserves full quotation. (Book III., chap. 37.) "Consider and reflect how, in our days, God hath changed West into East; for we, who were Westerners, are now Easterners. He who was a Roman or a Frank, hath in this land become a Galilæan or Palestinian; the man of Reims or Chartres hath become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already forgotten our birthplaces; many know them not or have never heard of them. One man possesses his own house and household [in the East] as by hereditary and paternal right; another has married a wife not from his own land, but from Syria or Armenia, or even a Saracen woman baptized into grace." All their connections by marriage are with foreigners. "One man has his vineyards, another his ploughlands. They use one or the other language in turn, each in consideration for the other. . . . He who was a stranger is now like a native, and the sojourner hath become an inhabitant. From day to day we are followed hither by our neighbours and kinsfolk, who leave all their possessions, nor leave them unwillingly;[1] for they who were poor at home are here enriched by God. Those who had possessed a few pence gain here countless bezants; and the man who was not even lord of a manor is master here of a city, by God's

[1] The text has *uolentes*, but the sense seems plainly to require *nolentes*; this is one of the commonest of scribal and printers' errors.

gift. Wherefore, then, should he return to the West who findeth such an East as this ? . . . It is God's will, therefore, to win us all and draw us all to Himself as His dearest friends. And, since this is His will, let us also be willing, and let us do His will with a kindly and willing heart, that we may reign with Him in bliss." When these words were written, about 1127, the combination of worldly and spiritual advantages was plain ; but, if Foucher had written a little later, he would have laid at least as much emphasis upon those who made money and went home, as upon those who made money and stayed to colonize. To the political weakness of this kingdom, split up among many feudatories, while it was only half supported by three minor principalities, and to the military weakness of these numerically small colonies, seldom at real accord with each other and always decimated by the fierce heats of the South, we must thus add two deeper social defects: the first, that many colonists came only for gain ; and the second, that even those who stayed intermarried with natives and adopted native customs. In the constant wars in which this kingdom of Jerusalem was engaged, many of its subjects sympathized rather with the Saracen than with the Frank. In addition to this, we must bear in mind the constant friction between these Western pilgrims and the Eastern empire, due partly to quarrels for the possession of cities conquered from the Mohammedans, and partly to those claims of spiritual supremacy which were so steadily pressed by the Popes and so fiercely resisted by the Greeks. And, finally, we must take into account the interminable border-feuds ; the crusading lords adding to their revenues by the plunder of caravans, and the Mohammedans of the interior seizing every opportunity of retaliatory raids upon a colony which had few natural defences on the land side, and would have been quite unable to hold its ground without its sea-base.

Against all these causes of weakness we must set the disunion which reigned among the Mohammedans. Grad-

ually, however, while the Christians were drifting more and more apart, their enemies began to group themselves more unitedly round a remarkable chief, Zenghi, who crowned his exploits by the capture of Edessa (1144). This was the great Christian outpost on the north-east, which had so long kept the Mohammedans at bay ; and its fall threw the Western world into consternation.

In November 1145 an Eastern bishop came and besought help for the East from Eugenius III. ; he produced little impression. But, a month later, Louis VII. held his court at Bourges ; the Bishop of Langres pleaded the cause of Palestine ; and the king, much moved, promised his help, fixing next Eastertide for an assembly at Vézelay which should secure the support of the nobility. Meanwhile he wrote to secure the assistance of the Pope's old master, St. Bernard, the man to whom Eugenius could write : "Men say you are Pope, not I." St. Bernard, however, refused to decide until the Pope had given his approbation ; then Eugenius sent a bull calling on all the faithful of France to take the cross, and definitely committed the preaching of this Crusade to St. Bernard. Neither the great church of Vézelay, nor even the great square outside it, was sufficient for the crowd which assembled to hear the greatest preacher of that age, and almost of any age, on this solemn occasion (March 31, 1146). A wooden scaffold was set up on the hillside outside the walls ; and from this pulpit St. Bernard read the bull, expounded the Papal indulgences and privileges, and added his own words of exhortation. The effect was immense ; the multitude of prepared crosses was exhausted at once, and Bernard had to tear up his own frock and cowl to satisfy the demand. He conceived a rash plan of simultaneous attack upon the pagans of every frontier ; not only in Syria but in Spain and on the Slavonic tribes of Eastern Europe. He himself, France being now gained, went on to preach the Crusade in Germany. Here, even though he could only speak through the interpreter at his side, his contagious enthusiasm brought

startling successes, though here he set his face steadily against the popular current. For this Crusade, like the first, had at once provoked massacres of Jews in the great towns; in Rhineland these pogroms were even semi-officially directed by a monk named Rudolf. Bernard insisted that even Jews must be converted by persuasion and not by force; he threw all his weight against the persecutors, faced unpopularity with the multitude, and succeeded in getting Rudolf to retire within his own cloister. A Jewish contemporary wrote, in words which have come down to us: "Had not the tender mercy of the Lord sent that priest, none would have survived." Bernard's mission-journey was marked, we are told, by many miracles; but, when he attempted in a personal interview to persuade the Emperor Conrad III., he was rebuffed. But at the diet of Speyer he came again to the charge. Two days after Christmas, having sung Mass in Conrad's presence, he was suddenly inspired to preach "contrary to the custom, and uninvited." He addressed his appeal directly to the Emperor, and with such effect that not only Conrad, but the greater part of the audience, took the cross; St. Bernard himself called this "the miracle of miracles." Next day he was almost stifled by the crowd that gathered to hear him. The Emperor and the greatest King in Europe were now definitely engaged, with a following as remarkable for its quality as for its numbers; no Crusade, it may perhaps be said, started with such brilliant prospects as this.

Yet none, perhaps, turned out less successful in proportion to its early promise. The Emperor and the King took care that this should be less tumultuous than the People's Crusade; yet the undisciplined element was still very strong. There were many non-combatants with the army; and, among the soldiers themselves, too many were pardoned criminals or "undesirables." From St. Bernard's own letters this comes out most clearly; he, and his fellow-Cistercian Otto of Freisingen, congratulated themselves on this conversion of thieves,

highwaymen, and homicides into soldiers of Christ. Moreover, the King of France brought with him his wife Eleanor, destined later on to be separated from him and married to our Henry II. ; many French and German barons followed his example, and the camp was encumbered with a multitude of women. The passage of the Crusaders was hindered first by the outbreak of war between Roger of Sicily and the Greek emperor, and then by their own indiscipline. Odo of Deuil, abbot of St. Denis, tells stories of the march which, though we must discount them by remembering his national prejudices, cannot have been altogether invented. Louis (he tells us) was strict with his army, and often cut off marauders' noses and even their feet. But the French troops suffered from the previous passage of the Germans. Troubles had already begun in Bulgaria ; but in Macedonia war broke out. " I regret," says Odo, " to tell the story ; but Philippopolis had a stately suburb of Latins outside the walls ; and these men sold abundance of necessaries to the travellers. But, when the Germans had settled in the taverns, by evil fortune there came in a juggler who, though ignorant of their tongue, sat down, paid his scot, drank a deep draught, and then brought a tame serpent forth from his bosom, and placed it in a bowl on the ground, and thus began to exercise his jugglery among men whose manners and tongue he knew not. The Germans, taking this for something monstrous, rose up in fury, seized upon the juggler, and tore him in pieces. Then they imputed one man's guilt to all, saying that the Greeks wished to poison them. The city was troubled by this tumult in the suburb, and the Duke came hastily forth with his men, unarmed, to calm the disorder. But the Germans, mad with rage and wine, noted only that he ran and not that he had no weapons. Therefore they ran in wrath to meet these men who were hastening as peacemakers, imagining that they came to exact vengeance for the murder. So the Duke and his men fled and were received into the city. Then taking their bows, which

are their wonted arms, they put their pursuers to flight, slaying and wounding and not ceasing until all had been expelled from the suburb. In that fray many Germans were slain, especially in the hostels, and cast into pits for the sake of their money. Then they regained courage and took up arms to avenge their own shame and their comrades' death; thus they returned and burned almost all outside the walls. Moreover, the Germans were insufferable to our men." They drove us out of the markets; and "they marched boldly enough, but unwisely, finding abundance everywhere in that land and dealing intemperately, wherefore their foot-soldiers stayed behind in drunkenness and were slain, so that the whole way was defiled with their unburied corpses; and these German dead were more noxious than the armed Greeks to us who followed them."

Misunderstandings ensued at Constantinople, where the Emperor tried to extort from Conrad and Louis a promise of homage for their future conquests, and on their refusal practically drove them out of his city. Conrad went against the Turks of Asia Minor, and sustained a bloody defeat near Dorylæum; Louis reached Antioch after a battle in which he was nearly taken prisoner, and a hasty embarkation in which he left multitudes of pilgrims to the mercy of the Turks. When the two sovereigns joined forces, both armies were so depleted that there was no chance of retaking Edessa. They attacked Damascus, but failed ignominiously, not without suspicions of treason. Thence Conrad went home; Louis stayed over Easter at Jerusalem, but was recalled to France by his great minister Suger. The odium of this failure fell heavily on the Pope and St. Bernard. Suger was struggling to raise another army, when he died; and the kingdom of Jerusalem was left to struggle on amidst worse internal dissensions, growing dangers, and more fatal blunders than before.

The Third Crusade

In 1171 Saladin became sole ruler of Egypt; in 1174 he took Damascus, and Aleppo in 1183. Next year, the crown of Jerusalem was solemnly offered first to Philip Augustus of France, and then to Henry II. of England. Meanwhile the Latin princes in the East waded onwards through political blunders and distracted quarrels with each other. They made no profitable use even of the truce which Saladin had made with them in 1180. This was violated in 1182 by an ex-prince of Antioch, Renaud de Châtillon, who built a fleet of five galleys and many smaller ships, carried them in sections on camels over the desert, swept the Red Sea, and even threatened Mecca and Medina. But Saladin presently destroyed this fleet; and when, in 1186, Renaud violated a fresh truce by pillaging a caravan in which was Saladin's sister, the Sultan preached a holy war against the Franks. These made a desperate effort to collect their forces, and marched with 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot to raise the siege of Tiberias. Saladin caught them in the desert near the village of Hattin, and cut them to pieces; the king, the Grand Master of the Templars, and many of the greatest nobles were taken; Saladin beheaded Renaud with his own scimitar (July 4, 1187). In a few weeks Saladin had taken nearly all the cities in the kingdom. His army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem on 17th September; on the 2nd of October he entered the town, and spared the inhabitants in consideration of an enormous ransom. He took even the Krak des Chevaliers; only the Hospitallers' fortress at Margat held out, with Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli.

This disaster shocked Europe far more than the fall of Edessa itself had done; and the Pope could now urge with still greater force that the very existence of Christianity was at stake. Clement III. sent his Legate from

land to land, persuading the princes to make peace with each other and war with the Saracen. He persuaded Philippe-Auguste of France and Henry II. and Richard of England to take the cross; then Frederic Barbarossa and his son; at the diet of Mainz 13,000 are said to have joined, and a Scandinavian fleet brought 12,000 Northmen round by Gibraltar. Here, again, something had been learned from previous disasters, and the three sovereigns (for Richard had now succeeded Henry II.) brought more order into the military and diplomatic sides of this pilgrimage. Richard published a code of discipline for his chiefs which we shall see later on (Chap. xvi.). Frederic refused to admit into his armies any man who had not three marks of his own; in other words, about enough to keep a peasant farmer and his family for a year; moreover, he divided his 100,000 men into battalions of about 500, and appointed a general staff of 60 nobles. Far more care was taken, this time, to negotiate for a peaceful passage through the lands which had to be traversed. Yet, in Greece, the old and almost inevitable quarrels were renewed. There was serious bloodshed and conflagration of towns even before the arrival at Constantinople; a little more, and Frederic would have attacked the Greek emperor in his own capital. However, the Crusaders passed the Hellespont, found the north of Asia Minor too war-wasted to feed them, and were harassed by the Turks as they marched upon Iconium. Here they took the town, but with great difficulty; a wearied and diminished force of about 42,000 started onwards to cross the Taurus range. They reached Lesser Armenia; but here the great Emperor perished tragically in an insignificant river: according to one account, the heat had tempted him to bathe after dinner; another tells us that his horse stumbled and threw him at the ford. Most of his followers now turned back; others perished of plague at Antioch; very few found their way to join their fellow-pilgrims at Acre.

These, meanwhile, had had their own adventures on

the way. Richard and Philip joined forces at Messina; but there the English quarrelled with the Italians; Richard took the town by storm, and Philip quarrelled with him for a share of the booty. From Sicily they sailed after a whole winter's delay: Richard, driven by storm to Cyprus, realized how rich a prize was in his grasp, conquered the island from the Greek governor, and distributed half the lands among his knights; later, he sold his conquest to the exiled King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan. At last he joined the rest at Acre, which had now been besieged for two years; presently the Germans joined them, under Leopold of Austria. Now, in spite of Saladin's efforts to relieve it, the city at last succumbed to the desperate assaults of these combined forces; Saladin agreed to redeem the lives of the garrison at the price of liberating all his Christian captives, handing over the True Cross, which he had taken in Jerusalem, and paying 200,000 bezants. But he failed to raise the sum within the stipulated 40 days, and Richard, in revenge, slaughtered in cold blood the 2,000 hostages whom he had retained: thus "Saladin kept his money, his Christian prisoners, and the True Cross" (Seignobos). This cruel blunder was only too characteristic of Richard; and he was probably mainly to blame in the quarrels which ensued with Philip and Leopold. His prowess in fight became legendary; his imprisonment by the Duke of Austria, on his way home, added greatly to this halo of romance; yet we can scarcely call him more successful as Crusader in Palestine than as king in England. After his slaughter of the hostages at Acre, Saladin naturally refused to negotiate for the surrender of Jerusalem; and the Marquis of Montferrat fought with the Duke of Burgundy while both ought to have been attacking the Saracens. Therefore, even after Richard had taken Jaffa, he dared not yet march upon Jerusalem; and, meanwhile, he heard of John's treachery at home. Consequently, he was glad to make a three years' truce which secured for his own countrymen a free passage, as private pilgrims,

to the Holy Sepulchre. After his departure, a fresh contingent of Germans arrived and conquered all the coast towns of Syria; but these, in their turn, were recalled at the news of the Emperor Henry VI.'s death (1197).

CHAPTER VII

A SOLDIER AND A SAINT

To understand these Crusades we must look at both sides ; and here we have a guide of extraordinary value and interest : the autobiography of a Mohammedan chief who fought for more than forty years against the Franks.

Ousâma was the son of Mourschid or Mounkidh, Prince of Schaïzar, a narrow territory in the mountains above Antioch, which could put 5,000 fighting men into the field. Prince, that is, by birth, but too straightforward to reign by the crooked arts of politicians in that time and place ; therefore he abdicated on the very day on which his dying brother had named him as his successor. Thenceforward he fought as an ordinary knight (to borrow the Western term) in the national ranks. All through an unusually long life this man lived up to his own sententious judgment. " My father (upon whom may Allah have mercy !) used to say to me : ' In every kind of thing there is the same difference in value as between a good horse worth a hundred dinars, and five sorry nags which are worth only a hundred in the lump. So is it also with camels, and with every sort of garment ; but not for the sons of Adam. For a hundred bad men cannot be weighed against a single man of trust and honour.' And indeed he spake truly."

In Mourschid's thirty-nine years of campaigning he

received many severe wounds: a javelin once forced its way through the nose-piece of his helmet into his cheek-bone; again, a foot-soldier's pike pierced him through and through between the breast and the collar-bone; and, on that same day, another pike-thrust and a slash severed one tendon of his wrist. "He had horrible scars on his body," sums up the son, "yet he died in his bed" [May 1137]. In another war Ousâma saw his father quietly riding his mule at a foot-pace. "Master," he cried, "thou seest the enemy encamped between us and our home; wherefore dost thou not mount one of the horses that the grooms lead for thee?" "Son," replied Mourschid, "it is written in the stars which rule my life that fear shall never touch me." "For" (adds Ousâma) "my father was a passionate student of astrology, in spite of his fear of sin, his faith, his continual fasts, and his recitation of the Koran." His temper was fiery; one day when the Franks were upon them, and his squire delayed to bring his horse, "my father, who had girt on his sword, beat the man with it, sheathed as it was; the blows tore to pieces all that the squire wore, his silver-plated sandals and other gear, a long cloak and a woollen tunic, and broke his arm at the elbow, severing his hand. My father (may Allah have mercy upon him!) maintained the man, and his children after his death, by reason of that stroke. As for the sword, it was called thenceforth by that squire's name;" and Ousâma inherited it for his own battles.

On the other hand, Mourschid disciplined himself by one of the most tedious of sedentary occupations. "He wrote a magnificent hand, in spite of that wound in his wrist. He copied nothing but the Koran. One day I asked him: 'Master, how many copies hast thou made?' He answered: 'Thou shalt know at my last hour.' When death was near, he said: 'In that chest there are transcriptions by my hand, each of which I have distinguished by an original conclusion; put them under my cheek in my tomb.' When we counted them,

there were forty-three, with forty-three different appendixes." The rest of Ousâma's description might seem to imply, by itself, that each of these contained the complete text of the Koran, in which case Mourschid had done more work than has been recorded to the credit of some even distinguished monastic scribes. But, since he stresses the extent to which the capitals were also illuminated, and one copy was all in letters of gold, we ought probably to look upon them as forty-three separate sections of the Koran. He adds: "This, after all, is outside my main purpose in this book; I have only recorded it in order to pray that any man who reads one of those copies may implore Allah's pity upon my father." Later, speaking of Mourschid's passion for the chase, he says again: "He had no other occupation than battle, the Holy War against the Franks, and transcribing the Book of Allah, Glorious and Mighty. . . . He fasted continually, and was devoted to chanting from the Koran. As for the chase, he justified it by that text [of the Koran]: 'Rejoice your hearts, they will be the safeguard of your renown.' I have never seen any other man so gifted for organizing hunting-parties. . . . He ordered the chase as though it were a battle, or the most urgent of all business. Under him, no man conversed with his companion; our only care was to study the lie of the land and to mark hares or birds' nests." He had collected enormous numbers of falcons by offering rich rewards to the peasants. Thus, "in spite of his heavy body and his great age and his perseverance in fasting, my father (upon whom Allah have mercy!) would gallop all day long, never hunting except on a thoroughbred or a stout little horse. We, his four sons, were wearied and exhausted, while he held out against fatigue. He would not suffer any servant or squire or attendant to slacken his gallop in pursuit of game. . . . Tancred, prince of Antioch [in 1108], encamped against us [at Schaïzar] and withdrew without any truce. Forthwith my father (upon whom Allah have mercy!) mounted his horse for

the chase, without waiting until the Frankish rearguard had moved away from Schaïzar."

Mourschid owed much to his mother: "My grandmother (may Allah have mercy on her!) was among the most virtuous Muslim women, practising religion and almsgiving and fasting and prayer most admirably. One day I was present while she prayed with my father, who excelled in chanting the Book of Allah the Most High, his mother praying with him. He took compassion on his mother and said, 'Mother, wilt thou not seat thyself to pray?' She made answer, 'Oh, my dear son, have I so many days yet to live that I shall ever again see a night like this? No, by Allah, I will not sit.' Now, at that time my father was seventy years old, and my grandmother was wellnigh a hundred." When Ousâma began to win special honour as a lion-hunter, the old lady came to him at midnight to warn him against the anger, not so much of the wild beasts as of an envious uncle. "And in time I learned that she had given me wise advice, and had spoken no more than the truth. Upon my life, women of this sort are true mothers of men." On the other hand, "my father never held me back from any fight or any danger, in spite of my love for him and the tender preference he showed for me. . . . He said to me, 'Shrink not from death in defence of thy hostages.'" Only once did he make exception: "The lion crouched on the river bank, beating his breast against the earth and roaring. My father cried to me, 'Madman, advance not against him, lest he seize thee!' I drove my lance at the lion, who did not budge, and killed him on the spot. That was the only time my father ever held me back from a fight."

Of his own mother, Ousâma tells us that she was a worthy warrior's wife. When they were attacked by a Bedouin tribe, apparently in their own rock-fortress of Schaïzar, Ousâma and others made a successful sortie. He came back, and found all weapons gone from his rooms. "I said to my mother, 'Where are my

arms?' She answered, 'O my dear son, I have distributed them among those who fought for us, and I knew not that thou wert yet alive.' I replied, 'And my sister, what doth she here?' She answered, 'Dear son, I seated her on the balcony, and sat down behind her. As soon as those Ishmaelites reached us, I would have hurled her down into the valley, that I might see her dead rather than led into slavery by wanton peasant boors.' I thanked my mother, and my sister also added her grateful thanks."

Ousâma himself was brought up in his father's footsteps—religion, war, and the chase. "If my father proposed to go hawking after partridges in the mountains, he would say to us on the way, long before we had reached our hunting-ground: 'Scatter now; and whichever of you has not done his daily reading of the Koran, let him fulfil his obligation.' Then we, his sons, who knew the Koran by heart, would separate from each other and recite it until we came to the ground. He then sent for us, and questioned each on the portion which he had recited. Then he would say, 'I have recited a hundred verses,' or thereabouts." We must doubtless accept very loosely his "knew by heart"; for the Koran is as long a book as the New Testament; but this, and many other passages, show how pious Mohammedans knew their Koran at least as well as the Western monk knew his Bible—*i.e.* that, by frequent repetition of certain portions, he could chant them without book. These Eastern nobles had a far higher tradition of intellectual culture than ours; more than once, Ousâma casually mentions the professors who taught them in youth. We find him quite naturally, elsewhere, reading his daily portion at the window, while other business went on in the room; again, writing at ninety and enumerating his infirmities of age, he says: "When I would arise in the night-time to pray, I feel as if I were broken in pieces." He held immovably to his own predestinarian creed and that of his fathers; for in Islam the doctrine of free-will is a heresy. Speaking of

an act of startling bravery, and the recovery of his companion from the severest wounds, he adds : " Praise be to Allah, who can perform the thing that He wishes, even as He wishes it. A man no more prolongs the appointed term by shirking, than he advances it by rashness." " When the fatal term is fixed, neither courage nor energy avails ; " " the slightest thing may kill us, and logic avails less than prophecy ; " " if men's hearts were purified from the stain of sin, and if they resigned themselves to Him who knoweth all mysteries, they would know that exposure to the dangers of war does not abridge the foreordained term."

He was naturally kind-hearted, as we may see not only from many incidental notes of pity in the book, but above all from a hunting story. Ousâma himself almost equalled his father's devotion to sport ; but both father and son required that it should be real sport. One day Mourschid was hawking with his Koran-teacher, Abou Tourab, who, as soon as the business of the chase began, sat down to read ; a good deal of the noble's education was evidently pursued thus, in the intervals of sport or war. When the chase was finished, the teacher said, " My lord, I was seated on a rock, when a little partridge, wearied to death, came fluttering to this rock and slipped into a crevice. Then the falcon came close after her, but missed his swoop and alighted hard by me, while the falconer cried, ' Take heed to thyself, master, take heed ! ' He came galloping up at the moment that I was praying, ' O Allah ! hide this partridge ! ' He cried, ' Master, where is the bird ? ' I answered, ' I have seen nothing ; she has not appeared here.' The falconer dismounted, turned round the rock, peeped underneath, saw the partridge, and said, ' You say *no*, but I swear she is here.' He seized her, my lord, broke her legs, and threw her to the falcon ; her fate broke my heart.' "

We have another glimpse of Muslim education, a dialogue between Ousâma and " my preceptor, the learned Sheikh Abou Abd Allah Mohammad, son of

Yousouf." "We were talking one day on the art of war, and I said to him, 'Master, if you were to mount on horseback, and clad yourself in a quilted breastplate and helmet, with lance and sword and buckler, and posted yourself near that chapel on the river Orontes, in a defile through which the Franks would pass (may they have the curse of Allah!), then not one of them would escape you.' 'By Allah!' said he, 'thou art in error; all would escape me.' 'Nay,' said I, 'but they would be smitten with fear and would not know thee.' 'Glory to Allah!' said he, 'but I should not know myself!' Then he added, 'O Ousâma, no man of intelligence ever fights.' So I named to him the most valiant horsemen of our lineage, and said, 'Master, do you then take this man and that man for madmen?' 'That was not my thought,' answered he; 'I would only have said that intelligence is gone when fighting begins. If otherwise, a man would not expose his face to swords, and his breast to javelins and arrows; such conduct is not dictated by intelligence.' For my late lamented professor (Allah have mercy upon him!) was better versed in learning than in war; for it is intelligence which drives a man to face sword and lance and arrow, through the disgust and evil reputation inspired by a coward's inactivity. The proof of this is that the most valiant man, when he reflects beforehand on the dangers of the fight, is a prey to agitation and trembling and pallor; he is anxious, hesitant, fearful, until he is upon the battlefield; but, when once he has joined the mêlée and plunged into the gulf of war, then his agitation and trembling and pallor are gone. [On the other hand,] any act from which intelligence is absent betrays sin and error."

This, then, with the conviction that to fight the Franks was a holy war, sustained Ousâma to the end. "I have been in battles and skirmishes of fearful peril; I have been burned with the enemy's flame-throwers; I have known war from the ages of fifteen to ninety; and now, lagging among the last of all, I have become

a home-haunter, parted from the stream of warfare, a man of care and of little account, so overflowed with misfortune that no man calleth upon me, whereas I was once the first man to whom fingers pointed, the best equipped to parry all perils, the first to ride behind the banner when we fell upon the foe; or again, in retreat, the last of the rearguard to sheathe his sword." Again, where he deplores his losses in civil war: "My children, my brother's children, and our wives were saved; that made it easy to endure the loss of my goods. All that I deeply felt was the loss of my books; I had four thousand of them, every one a precious volume. Their loss has been a lifelong heartsore to me. It is catastrophes like these which shake the mountains and shatter wealth; but Allah (all glory to Him!) atones for them by His mercies, and scars over all our wounds with His grace and pardon. At how many grievous events have I been, and what misfortunes have smitten me! Yet my life has been preserved, because my destinies had thus decreed." This mention of books is remarkable. We must probably allow for some exaggeration, though this history is certainly not the book of a mere boaster. But it would be difficult to find any knight or baron in Latin Christendom who at this time, or for centuries before and after, possessed forty volumes which he cared for; even four hundred (to divide Ousâma's assertion by ten) would mean a library such as only the largest monasteries possessed. The passage shows how that culture which, among the Muslims of Spain, led to the formation of libraries unparalleled in Western Christendom, was active in Syria also. Ousâma gives two other casual notices of the esteem for learning among these Muslim nobles. One of the most distinguished generals, Roudwan, he describes as "perfect, noble, valiant, and a distinguished writer to boot," as was our author himself; for this autobiography is only one of his writings. And again: "One day, I rode out for distraction along the banks of the Orontes. I had with me a professor, who at one moment

recited poetry, at another, chanted passages from the Koran ; or, again, sang songs."

He recounts many combats, but tells us little that we might not gather equally well from Western sources. We see him and his fellows fighting with Franks, with fellow-Muslims, with lions ; many are the wounds and the hairbreadth escapes ; but all this concerns the Crusades only in so far as it shows what sort of men these were against whom the pilgrims were constantly arrayed. Ousâma, unlike Villehardouin, has not set out to tell any consecutive story ; his chief book is a collection of detached anecdotes entitled *Instruction through Examples* ; and what else we know of him has been gathered by his patient editor, page by page, from others of his writings. Therefore he speaks far more of himself, and gives far less direct history, than Villehardouin ; yet we cannot call him, on the whole, either egotistical or boastful ; he has done and seen great adventures, and we are grateful for all he tells us about them. Picturesque as he is, he often falls short here of the best Western chroniclers ; but the glimpses he gives us of Franco-Muslim relations and estimates, from his own opposite standpoint, are priceless.

He admires the Crusaders' bodies and despises their wits. "Whosoever shall have learned to know the Franks and all their works can only glorify and sanctify Almighty Allah ; for in them he will have seen beasts who excel in valour and in love of war, but in nothing else ; even as brute beasts are superior in bodily strength and in fierceness." And again : "The Franks (may Allah turn His face from them !) have no human superiority but courage. The only folk distinguished by any pre-eminence among them are the knights ; in truth, the knights are the only real men they have ; therefore they are considered as arbiters in councils, in judgments, and in decisions. One day [in 1140] [I went from Damascus to Jerusalem to complain of a lord who had broken the truce and driven off our sheep]. Fulk [of Anjou], king [of Jerusalem], said at once to six or

seven knights : ' Go and sit and do justice here.' They left his hall, and deliberated apart until they were agreed. [They decided in favour of Ousâma.] The king commanded him to pay me ; he solicited and implored me insistently, and at last I agreed to take [only] 400 dinars. For, when once the knights have given their decision, neither the Frankish king nor any prince may alter it, so great is the knight's importance among them." He is far less impressed by another side of their justice, the ordeal by battle. He saw one of these between an old peasant and a blacksmith hired to fight him ; the old man " was valiant and courageous, snapping his fingers in defiance, and without uneasiness for the issue." He did, in fact, press the blacksmith hard for a long time, but was at last brought down by a heavy blow, and killed. " The lord who had chosen the blacksmith as his champion gave him a liberal holding of land, set him on horseback among his followers, and rode off. This example may show what Frankish justice and jurisprudence are (may Allah curse them !)." He was even more disgusted, and had reason to be, with an ordeal by water which he witnessed.

Readers of Scott's *Talisman* will remember Saladin's disapproval of Frankish manners, in their contrast with Eastern gravity. Ousâma notes the same : " Once, when I was at Tiberias, the Franks had a feast-day, and the knights went outside the city to joust. They had dragged with them two decrepit old women whom they placed at one end of the lists, while at the other they bound a pig to a boulder of rock. The knights then arranged a foot-race between the two old women. Each of them tottered forward, escorted and embarrassed by a detachment of cavalry ; they fell and rose again, while the spectators laughed their fill. At last, one reached the pig first and seized it as the prize of her victory." As will be seen, he had real opportunities of judging his adversaries. He speaks with admiration of a French knight, brilliant in battle, who passed through Schaïzar with a letter of introduction from Tancred :

" The bearer is a knight respected in Frankland, who has come to make a pilgrimage [to Jerusalem] and will return to his own country. He has begged me to introduce him to you in order that he may see your knights. Therefore I have sent him on to you ; treat him well." And Ousâma adds : " He was young and handsome, and bore his Frankish dress with grace. But he was scarred with many wounds ; on his face was a sabre-slash which had cut him from the roots of his hair to his chin. I asked who he was ; and they told me, ' This is the man who charged against the troops of Mandoûd, our commander-in-chief, and who, when his horse was killed under him, fought his way back to his companions.' " Again, " There was in the army of King Fulk of Jerusalem a distinguished French knight who had come to accomplish his pilgrimage and return forthwith. We became acquainted ; and he attached himself so strongly to me that he was wont to call me *Brother* ; we loved each other and were much together. When he prepared for his return, he said to me, ' O my brother, I am now about to depart ; and if you will, I will gladly take your son home with me ' (for I had with me my son of fourteen). ' There he will see our knights, and learn wisdom and the science of chivalry ; at his return he will be a man of ripe understanding.' My ears were hurt by words which seemed scarce those of a man in his senses ; for, even though my son had been taken prisoner, he could have had no worse lot than to be carried off to France. I answered, ' By thy life, such was mine intention ; but I was prevented by the love which my mother, the boy's grandmother, bears to my son ; she would not let him go with me until I had sworn to bring him back.' Said he : ' Is thy mother still alive ? ' ' Yes,' I answered ; and he : ' Thou shalt not disobey her.' " The patronizing kindness of the Frank, and the Oriental's polite diplomacy could hardly be better expressed. There are other instances of friendship between the two hostile camps ; a Frank who remembers his old friend and spares him at a moment

of victory ; a Saracen chief brought as guest by a Greek to the dinner given by " a knight of knights, one of the old school " at Antioch, who, shortly afterwards, saved his guest's life in a street tumult : " that dinner snatched him from the jaws of death." Ousâma comments : " We find some Franks who settle among us and have frequented Muslim society. These are far superior to the others who have but lately come out into the lands which they occupy [in Syria] ; in fact, the former are the exception, the latter are the rule." " As a proof of Frankish rudeness, here is what befell me when I visited Jerusalem [about A.D. 1140]. I went into the mosque Al-Aksa, beside which was a little mosque which the Franks had made into a church. When I entered the mosque Al-Aksa, which was occupied by my friends the Templars, they assigned this little mosque to me to say my prayers. One day I went in and began to glorify Allah. I was deep in prayer when a Frank swooped down upon me, seized me and turned my face to the east, saying, 'That is how men pray!' A number of Templars hastened to him, seized him, and expelled him from the mosque. I began my prayers again ; but that same man, having escaped their vigilance, pounced upon me again and turned my face towards the east, saying, 'That is how men pray!' The Templars cast him forth again ; then they made excuse to me, saying, 'That is a stranger, fresh from France ; he has never seen a man pray except towards the east.' I answered, 'I have prayed enough for to-day.' I went out, marvelling at the distortion of that devil's face, and how he trembled at the sight of a worshipper turning towards Mecca in his prayer. I saw one of the Templars come up to the Emir Mouin when he was in the Dome of the Rock, saying, 'Wilt thou see the Child-God?' 'By all means,' replied the Emir. So the Templar led us up to the image of Mary, with the Messiah (salvation be with him!) in her lap. 'There,' said the Templar, 'is God [*Allah*] as a Child.' May Allah rise far above the imagination of impious men!"

The question of Ousâma's religion will come in more opportunely in Chapter xii.; we need only note here that, on both sides, intercourse brought relaxation. Among the Muslims, this was chiefly in the use of fermented liquors; Ousâma frequently mentions these, and in quite a matter-of-fact way. He tells us, after the fashion of his age, three or four quite incredible marvels; he tells us of miracles (for Islam had its miracles also), and he is specially interested in the comparison between Frankish and Muslim medicine. The former was sometimes excellent, sometimes barbarous; for the amputation of a leg, an axe was brought into play (we know this from Western sources also); for a woman in fever, the priest caused her head to be shaved and a cross to be made with two razor-slashes, "for it is Satan who has crept into her head." On his own side, he gives us pathetic instances of devotion between vassal and chief, or, on the other hand, of bestial cruelty; more striking extremes in both these directions than could easily be found in Western sources. He is scandalized, as we should expect, at the freedom enjoyed by the Frankish women, who, it must be confessed, were not always models of propriety. He shows how Frank and Saracen, in their comparative ignorance of each other's manners, looked each upon the other side as peculiarly treacherous and untrustworthy. This feeling of insecurity was still further increased by the intestinal dissensions on both sides. If Frank was constantly quarrelling with Frank, so that no safe-conduct was recognized by all Franks alike, far more so was it with the Muslims; of that Ousâma leaves no doubt. His whole book reeks of civil war between chief and chief, between lawful sovereign (or perhaps successful usurper) and some fresh usurper; treacherous and cruel murders at every turn. If there were nothing else, these would explain the partial successes of the Franks; but in fact there was another weighty factor. The Western armies were not, according to modern standards, well disciplined or wisely led; but the Muslim armies

gave even more hostages to fortune. We may trace this in many pages of Ousâma; but he himself sums it up in a brief paragraph all the more significant because of the moral he draws. "Victory in war comes from Allah (blessed and praised be His name!), and not from the dispositions we make, nor from our organization, nor from the number of fugitives and pursuers. Every time that my father's brother (on whom Allah have mercy!) sent me to fight against our enemies, whether Turks or Franks, I said to him: 'Master, tell me what dispositions to make when I meet the enemy.' He would reply: 'Dear son, war directs itself;' and he spake truly." We may see here the reason why the Crusaders, with all their faults, were generally capable of more combination and strategy than their enemies. Fatalism is a strong motive up to a certain point, but it breaks down under stress of the greatest enterprises of all.

On the whole, therefore, necessary as it is to study the Crusades from Ousâma's side, we may still think that, throughout this long story, the West showed some real superiority, however slight, over the East. Ousâma and his father are noble and sympathetic figures; there was much in Muslim culture which the Western chivalry would have done well to imitate; moreover, Western religious intolerance, seen from this angle and at this distance of time, is in some ways very childish and barbarous. Yet no doubt there were hundreds of Muslims like Mourschid, and hundreds more whom he would have set above himself. But, on the whole, we may feel that the best men were on the Western side, look at them as we will; whether we measure them by their own Bible and Koran, or by modern eugenics.

Let us compare Ousâma with St. Bernard, whom the fall of Edessa in 1144 impelled to preach the Second Crusade. He is, side by side with St. Francis, the greatest saint of the Middle Ages proper. Francis was born of the trading nobility of Italy; Bernard, of the feudal nobility of France; and, strongly as his life will contrast in many ways with Ousâma's, there was much funda-

mental similarity in their birth, their education, their character, and even their ideals.

Bernard was born at the castle of Fontaine, three miles from Dijon, in 1090 or 1091. His mother was daughter to the lord of Montbard, a castle which still looks down upon the line from Dijon to Paris, and where, centuries later, the great naturalist Buffon lived and wrote. His father's name was Tescelin, one of the chief vassals of the Duke of Burgundy, of whom it was noted that the Duke had never lost any battle in which Tescelin had fought by his side. On both sides, therefore, the saint was of distinguished knightly stock; and we must consider what that meant in those days. His father and mother were descended from those Burgundian conquerors who had settled in Gaul, had taken all the best places, as the Normans took the best of England in 1066, and had lived on their estates from generation to generation, served by soldier-vassals of Burgundian or native race, and nourished by the labour of the native peasants. Castles and lands must be kept, in those days, by the same means by which they had been won; the struggle for existence was severe, and the fittest to survive was the man of most success in war. The Truce of God, in spite of its frequent publication by popes and kings, in spite even of the fact that Urban's great Council of Clermont chose this as one of its most important items of business, and published the most stringent decrees in its favour, was far more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Even a century and a half after Bernard's death, the great legist, Beaumanoir, expressly teaches that all lords have the right of private war; it is only mere commoners and peasants who, if they resolve to avenge their wrongs with their own hand, are lawbreakers and murderers. Therefore, in such a society, the knightly class were those who had been tried over and over again in the furnace. For there never was a time when fighting was a matter of mere brute force; and, in this eleventh century, skill and resourcefulness, constancy to a man's

own aim and fidelity to his companions, discipline and self-control, told as much as muscle and physical endurance, or even more. Bernard, therefore, may be said to have been born in the stream of success ; success was hereditary in his family. His mother Aleth had five sons and one daughter, all of whom she suckled herself, contrary to the common custom of high-born ladies, and whom she brought up to plain living. All would have become knights and squires but for Bernard, who first distinguished himself as schoolboy and young student. Then, gradually passing beyond this passion for letters to another ideal which his age never doubted to be higher and more difficult, he was "converted," in mediæval language ; that is, he resolved to take the monastic vows. One of his many biographers (for there is no man so distant in time concerning whom we know so much from contemporary or sub-contemporary biographies) tells us the steps of this conversion. At the crucial point, the good monk's sentences, often long and embarrassed, suddenly quicken ; events press upon each other in the narrative almost as tumultuously as they pressed each other in fact. He writes :

"One day Bernard went to join his brethren at the siege of the Castle of Grancey, where they lay under the command of the Duke of Burgundy. He was more and more obsessed with these thoughts [of conversion] ; and, finding a church by the wayside, he entered in. There he began to pray ; there he melted into tears ; and there, raising his hands to heaven, he poured out his soul like water before the Lord his God. From that day forward his heart was fixed, and his ear was no longer deaf to the voice of Him who saith, 'Let him that heareth say, Come!' For, thenceforward, 'as the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire,' first catching everything that standeth nearest on every side, and thence spreading far and wide, even so did the fire which the Lord had kindled in His servant, with the will that it should burn, fall first upon his brethren."

Here we have a true soldier; the soldier (as he held himself) of God. With a band of thirty companions, all "of noble birth and men of learning," he knocked one day at the gate of Cîteaux, the one monastery in Burgundy, if not in Europe, in which men strove to keep St. Benedict's rule in all its strictness; and, therefore, a small and struggling monastery, a community which seemed fated to die slowly for lack of recruits. St. Bernard and his thirty doubled, or more than doubled, the numbers at one stroke; from that time forward this Cistercian Order grew and prospered with startling rapidity. At the saint's death Cîteaux possessed five hundred dependent monasteries, and was almost the most influential in Europe; the Order finally counted some 1,500 houses, and, to the end of the Middle Ages, it never entirely lost its reputation in the monastic world for comparative orderliness and efficiency.

For here was a man no less ready to accept discipline and death for an abstract ideal than any of his ancestors had been for castles and manors or for military glory. St. Benedict's monastic rule, to which St. Bernard vowed the most literal obedience, breathes the military spirit of ancient Rome, transformed into terms of spiritual warfare. The cloister, writes St. Benedict, should be a school of soldiery; and, again, coming to speak of the aged brother who can no longer bear the full weight of the rule, he calls him *sempecta*, the title given to a discharged gladiator. Finally, he reminds his disciples that they have sworn military allegiance and are bound to regimental obedience; soldiers of Christ, they are now under a strict rule. The true Benedictine, therefore, was a soldier in virtue of his vow; and it may be said of St. Bernard not only that he joined an army, but that, in one very real sense, he was a born soldier.

Behind the Crusaders, this was the spirit among the best men. Behind the Mohammedans, whom the Crusaders thought so damnable, there was real religion, fasting, prayer, with the conviction that Allah rules all, and that the right is fated to win sooner or later. We must

remember this all through the story which in many ways is so lamentable ; as indeed every chapter of history has its seamy side. And, amid all these conflicts, most of which were certainly avoidable, it may help us to remember what was written with some reference to the war between the Northern and Southern states of North America by the most distinguished of then living Radicals and political philosophers in Britain, John Stuart Mill. "Until labourers and employers perform the work of industry in the spirit in which soldiers perform that of an army, industry will never be moralized; and military life will remain what, in spite of the anti-social character of its direct object, it has hitherto been, the chief school of moral co-operation." [1]

[1] *Essay on Comte*, 1865, p. 149.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOURTH CRUSADE—I

We saw how unbusinesslike the First Crusade was; how much it depended on the enthusiasm of the moment, and therefore how near it frequently came to final failure. What gave it some success was the religious fervour (a real thing, whether we sympathize with it or not) which carried men like our author of the *Gesta* through three years of perils and hardships. By later times something had been learnt from experience; we shall find the Fourth far more businesslike; but, where business comes in at the door, religious enthusiasm is apt to fly out at the window.

Yet there was much religious emotion even here; and certainly its main author was a man of deep religious conviction. Innocent III. was a great ruler; no Pope ever came so near as he did to the effectual exercise of both swords, that of the spirit and that of the flesh. On the one hand, he did more than any other of the Middle Ages to stem indiscipline and immorality among the clergy and their flocks; on the other, he brought princes to their knees and launched two great wars which remain as landmarks of history. He was of noble birth, specially learned in Canon Law,[1] and with some

[1] In imitation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, in which Justinian had summed up all Roman and imperial law, the Church had gradually formed a *Corpus Juris Canonici*, a body of Church law which was accepted with little dispute by the clergy of every country, and only sometimes opposed by the laity; for it claimed, in the last resort, to override even imperial legislation. Therefore one of Henry VIII.'s first moves in the quarrel with Rome was to forbid the study of Canon Law at Oxford and Cambridge.

real theological learning ; moreover, he had the advantage of following close upon one whose character was perhaps equally remarkable, Alexander III. Innocent came to the throne in 1198, and struck unhesitatingly, from the first moments of his reign, at everything which seemed amiss in the world of that day. To him and to his friends, nothing could be more intolerable than that Saladin should have retaken Jerusalem, and that Christians could visit Christ's tomb only on sufferance and under tribute to the Pagans. We have seen how frankly the *Gesta* and Guibert accept the doctrine of faith by results. In the long run, this is doubtless true ; it is merely an extension of Christ's own words : " By their fruits ye shall know them ; " but in a short view it may lead us far astray. It is a common weakness, of course, in our own day, as it has been in every age ; but in those more impulsive and less reflective mediæval minds it was even more conspicuous than now. Just as, at Antioch, under failure, even bishops and priests dared not mention Christ's name for a while, so was it later on in the days of St. Louis. The friar Salimbene tells us how, in 1248, when their saintly king was beaten and a prisoner in Saracen hands, many men in France were accustomed to say, " Mohammed is greater than Christ ; " and it was on a similar text that Innocent preached his most moving public appeal in August 1198. While Christian kings (he says) wallow in adultery and in warfare against Christians, the Pagans are crying, " Where is now your God ? Presently, while weakling fights against weakling in Europe, no longer daring to measure himself against our manly forces, we in our turn shall cross the seas and sweep you all away." Words will not answer these taunts, for they are only too true ; there can be no answer but in deed ; it is a matter of life and death for Christendom that Jerusalem should be recovered. Moreover, the thing must be done without delay ; nothing but the Muslim dissensions still make it possible for this present remnant of Christians to hold their ground in Palestine ; if once

the hostile emirs come to agreement, we shall be driven into the sea at once.

That was plain enough for the simplest mind; but we can see more behind. The First Crusade, in one sense the greatest European movement that has ever been, had resulted only in the formation of a small Latin kingdom in Syria; yet even that was now lost almost to the last remnant; therefore, short of abandonment, the whole work had to be begun again. But abandonment is an impossible thought; for the Church has staked her credit upon the Holy Sepulchre. It was she who had launched the Crusades and gained most by their success; now she would bear the responsibility of their failure. And, even if this past history could be blotted out, it was to the evident interest of the Church that there should be an occasional Crusade. For the Popes were thus authorized, more easily and directly than in almost any other way, to interfere between prince and prince, between prince and subject; to mediate constantly between conflicting parties, and, where they mediated, to assume control. An instance of such mediation for the most obviously righteous cause may be found in Innocent's threat of excommunication against Henry III. if he attacked St. Louis's French possessions at a time when the saint was away on his Crusade. But, in many other ways, this position of Universal Crusade-Master gave the Pope chances of intervention even in the most intimate domestic affairs of Christian nations. And, lastly, the privileges which the Church granted to each individual Crusader, and which were rather extended than restricted as time went on, tended to free that man from ordinary civil obedience and civic responsibilities, and to make him a sort of Church vassal. The situation is admirably summed up by A. Luchaire (*Innocent III: La Question d'Orient*, p. 3). "The Crusader's privilege annulled provisionally a number of contracts and obligations; *inter alia*, the debtor's bond to his creditor. We may therefore understand the readiness of the multitude to take the cross,

and the ill-humour of certain kings in the face of these incessant appeals to a Crusade which revolutionized society in their realms; and, again, the ardour with which Popes and their Legates multiplied these distributions of crosses. No doubt it was not by deliberate calculation that Innocent perpetuated all through Europe, and especially in France, an agitation so profitable to his own power. But it cannot be denied that this Crusade-preaching, which was almost chronic during his pontificate, did contribute to extend and strengthen his political action. Here, there was full agreement between his duty as religious ruler and his aims of universal dominion; between his convictions and his interests."

This being so, Innocent will have no half-measures; it shall not be said that, while preaching the Crusade, "he himself does not stir his little finger." Each Archbishop in Europe is bidden command his clergy to provide or pay for a certain contingent of soldiers, according to the wealth of his province; men and money are to be ready collected by March 1199. But nothing was ready at that date; this semi-voluntary system had failed; there must now be a compulsory tax. Pope and Cardinals shall pay one-tenth of their income, and the rest of the clergy one-fortieth; all except the more privileged monastic orders (Cistercians, Carthusians, etc.) who are called upon only for one-fiftieth. Offertory-boxes are to be placed in every church of Europe; penances or pilgrimages may be commuted into the vow of the cross. No stone was left unturned; even runaway monks are to be caught wherever they can be tracked, and the Crusade shall profit by whatever money may be found upon them. Yet all this was easier to decree than to enforce. A whole year later, Innocent was complaining to the French prelates that, while they spent freely on buffoons and hawks and hounds, they were content to see Christ mocked, scourged, and crucified afresh. To the Cistercians and other privileged monks he has to threaten revocation of their immunities unless they

pay this bare fiftieth which the great cause demands from them. Worse still, the Pope had to contend with suspicions of embezzlement. Crusade moneys, between 1099 and 1199, had not always been spent upon the actual Crusades; some had found their way into the private Papal coffers; and it was difficult for this Pope to convince everybody that he not only had clean hands, but was paying heavily also from his own purse. No such movement had ever had an abler and more energetic Pope at its back; yet everything hung fire. The explosion in 1099 had taken even Urban II. by surprise; but now the powder was damp. In 1200, and again in 1202, it was necessary to rebuke great men who not only delayed, but had even cast away the cross they had solemnly taken. In 1203 Innocent actually excommunicated the recalcitrant Count of Eu, who had repudiated his vow. Men were glad to enjoy a Crusader's immunities, but slow to take up the Crusader's burden. Worse still, Mediterranean shipmen were selling arms and iron and timber to the Saracens; and the Pope was powerless to prevent this altogether.

Meanwhile, however, Innocent never forgot that his office was primarily religious and pacific. It was not only that, from the time of Saladin, the Christians enjoyed certain treaty rights in Jerusalem, and had their own Church of the Holy Sepulchre and their own staff of canons to serve it, in the midst of this Mohammedan city. We find Innocent writing to maintain these rights; but he also kept up other diplomatic relations with the Saracens; he even besought them to give up Jerusalem of their own accord, and thus avoid bloodshed and probable defeat; we cannot wonder, however, that the possessors turned a deaf ear to persuasion and threats. For, in Palestine itself, both sides were more and more definitely accepting the *status quo*; not only was there much trade and friendly intercourse between Christian and Muslim, but even intermarriage, and the Christians at Acre actually struck coins after the Saracen model, bearing Mohammed's name, and dated by the Hejira!

Moreover, the Saracens knew very well that, however their own internal dissensions might cripple them, there were almost as bitter quarrels between different Christians in the East; quarrels not only between rival princes, willing to cut each other's throats for a few square miles of territory, but, scarcely less bitter, between the clergy and the laity.

Diplomacy was very necessary also with regard to the Eastern Empire. When Richard of England took Cyprus and sold it to Guy de Lusignan, the island was looked upon as a splendid base for Western Crusaders, but no Greek emperor forgot that it had for centuries been an integral part of his own Empire. On the other hand, ever since the schism between Eastern and Western Christendom, the Popes had never ceased to claim that the Greeks were rebels who must be brought back, by persuasion if possible, but, if necessary, by force. Lastly, there was a most important political consideration to which the Papacy was willing to subordinate even that of the reunion of Christendom. The Greek Empire seemed tottering to its fall; at any moment, it might be attacked and conquered either by some King of Sicily or some Emperor of Germany, or possibly by some man who wore both crowns. But Germany and Sicily were, in the field of secular politics, the natural and continual enemies of the Holy See. That strip of Central Italy from sea to sea, from Ostia to Ravenna, over which the Popes ruled as temporal princes, was bounded on the north by the German Empire, on the south by the kingdom of Sicily. Either of these powers would have seized it at the first obvious opportunity, and such a chance would come at once with the immense accession of force which the conquest of the Greek Empire would supply. Innocent, therefore, kept in frequent touch with Greece.

His position was strengthened here with the accession of Alexius III., who had treacherously seized the throne by blinding his own brother Isaac II. and imprisoning his nephew, Alexius the Younger. The usurper,

conscious of the weakness of his position, sent ambassadors to conciliate the Pope. This gave Innocent the chance of suggesting that there could be no complete amendment until the Greek Church had submitted to Rome; and that the Emperor, no less than the Patriarch of Constantinople, was bound to do all he could in furtherance of this submission. The correspondence was lengthy; and the arguments on both sides are most interesting in the light they throw upon the claims of the Roman Church in the Middle Ages. Innocent based his demands on the necessity for one Church indivisible, which must be the Roman Church. The patriarch replied that this was obviously not the fact; that the Latin Church was itself divided into warring parties: "Why then do you write that there is but one flock and one shepherd?" The letters themselves explain clearly enough why this discussion left the two parties no nearer to each other than they had been before. But one sudden event changed the whole problem. While Innocent was still negotiating and pressing the scheme of a joint Crusade, and while Alexius was evading this on the plea of prematurity: ("When [God's predestined] hour shall have come, there will be little need of money or soldiers"), Alexius the Younger suddenly escaped from prison, hiding (as it is said) in a barrel. He repaired at once to his brother-in-law, Philip of Suabia, and claimed the Empire as Alexius IV. Philip, who was then disputing the crown of Germany with Otto of Brunswick, was of the house of Hohenstaufen, hereditary rivals of the Papacy; and Innocent was backing Otto against Philip. This escape, therefore, worked in two ways for closer and more serious negotiations between Innocent and Alexius III. On the one hand, Innocent was not predisposed to set Philip's brother-in-law upon the throne of Constantinople; on the other, Alexius III. was ready to bid very heavily for Papal support against this formidable danger. He wrote at once to play upon Innocent's misgivings: To support Alexius IV. would be to direct Crusaders from Jerusalem to Constantinople;

moreover, it would help Philip to the German crown, yet "is he not the son of that Frederic Barbarossa who waged pitiless war against the Roman Church?" Innocent congratulated the Emperor upon his sudden zeal for the Crusade, and pointed out that, if Philip had not yet subdued Otto, this was because Rome had resisted him stoutly while Greece had only given fair words; yet, if Philip became Western Emperor and master of Sicily, would he not then march upon Constantinople? The Pope implied in conclusion that he was not disposed to favour the young Alexius, for fear of diverting the Crusade: "Nevertheless, many men assert that we ought to take this young man's side, in order to punish the Greek Church for its disobedience to the Roman See." In plain words, Rome is now mistress of the situation abroad, for these two Greek claimants must bid heavily against each other for Roman support.

Yet, at home, even so great a Pope as this Innocent had far less power than might be supposed; it was he who had proclaimed the Crusade, and he had mobilized the Church for this occasion more systematically than it had ever been mobilized before; but the expedition will, in fact, fall into lay hands.

It is significant that the first impulse among the laity should have burst out at a tournament (Écri-sur-Aisne, November 28, 1199). The mediæval Church consistently forbade all tournaments, on account of the frequent bloodshed and quarrels and murderous revenges; no mediæval theologian doubted that a man slain in a tournament, dying unconfessed and without the last rites of the Church, went to hell. Like many other of the most emphatic ecclesiastical laws, this was constantly disobeyed; and Popes or prelates were often obliged to republish the prohibition for a certain specified period, as though it were not really a standing order; Innocent himself, later on, decreed a special five years' suspension of tournaments for the benefit of the Crusade. At this tourney of Écri, then, a few nobles sewed the cross on their shoulders, and took the vow. Then, when

the movement spread, it was the barons who organized it as they thought best, choosing for themselves prospectively a commander-in-chief and deciding between the two alternative routes, a most important question, without reference to the Holy See. On this Fourth Crusade, also, we find the lords ready to turn aside, for their own private advantage, to an extent which cannot be noted of the First. "For many of these Crusaders" (as Luchaire writes, speaking of the nobles only, quite apart from the frankly businesslike merchants), "the Crusade was first and foremost a matter of business." And he points out how even the great German revivalist of that day, Abbot Martin, who converted so many of his compatriots, frankly mingled spiritual and temporal inducements. His great sermon in the cathedral of Bâle enforced upon his hearers the double truth: "The promise that you will gain the kingdom of Heaven is certain; and the hope of temporal prosperity shall be yet more certainly fulfilled in you." Again, though France also had her great Crusade-preacher, Foulques de Neuilly, who once dared to rebuke Richard I. to his face,[1] yet Foulques himself, though his eloquence was probably equal to Peter the Hermit's, found that he could not keep up the momentary enthusiasm which he had excited. Moreover, men began to ask, as they would not have asked in 1099, why he collected such large sums, and whether these were really destined for the recapture of Jerusalem. His partner, a monk of St. Denis, collected a multitude of undisciplined Breton pilgrims, whom he led to Venice; thence they took ship to Acre, but melted away at once. It is important to note these limitations, from the very first, on Innocent's ideal of a disciplined and orderly expedition directed from Rome, and controlled by Rome more

[1] Foulques said publicly to Richard: "You have three daughters—Pride, Avarice, and Lechery; I warn you, in God's name, to dismiss all three." To which Richard replied: "I bequeath them to those who best deserve them; my pride to the Templars, my avarice to the Cistercians, and my lechery to the prelates."

completely than any of its predecessors. Presently, we shall see the control pass still more definitely away from Innocent.

From this time we have, for the personal side of the Crusade, two guides even more valuable than the *Gesta* of a century earlier ; the French chroniclers Geoffroi de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari.[1] Robert was a fairly ordinary knight of Picardy, Villehardouin was a noble of considerable rank ; he, his father and his descendants for some generations, were marshals to the Count of Champagne. To this the Emperor added, after the conquest of Constantinople, the office of Marshal of Romania ; his nephew and namesake became Prince of Achaia ; and his own chronicle of this Crusade is the earliest serious monument of French prose. It was probably written or dictated soon after the last events which it relates (1207), in the Greek castle which had fallen to Geoffrey's share after the victory. Though Villehardouin played a leading part in all these affairs, he writes without the least boastfulness ; this is a plain straightforward soldier's narrative, in which the author himself is mentioned in his place without emphasis, just like any other actor.

Foulques, he tells us, was not only a great preacher, but he " wrought many miracles." Yet Villehardouin lays more stress on the success of the Papal Legate, who was able to proclaim " that all who should take the cross and serve in the host for one year should be delivered from all the sins they had committed, provided that these had been duly confessed. And because this indulgence was so great, men's hearts were greatly stirred, and many took the cross by reason of the greatness of this pardon." He then tells us of the tournament of Écri, where it is very likely that he himself took the cross. Certainly Count Theobald of Champagne did, and Count Louis of Blois and Chartres, and Simon de Montfort (father of the victor at Lewes), and Renaud de

[1] In the following pages I shall often quote from one or other of these writers without further reference.

Montmirail; and "great was the fame thereof throughout the land." He fills nearly two pages with the names of great French and Flemish nobles who followed this example; among them were Baldwin Count of Flanders; Mary, his wife; Henry, his brother; and Thierry, his nephew. Two "parlements" were held (the second at Soissons); but, even at this latter (1200) it was felt that they had not yet a sufficient army; and it was only at the end of the year that matters were advanced enough for the adoption of definite plans for the Crusade. Then six envoys were sent to Venice with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate; they arrived there in February 1201. They were received with due honour by the Doge, Henry Dandolo, who is said to have been ninety-three years old at this time; but it is probable that there is some exaggeration here. Certainly he was blind; yet, as will be seen, this had quenched neither his mental nor his bodily energy. On the fourth day he assembled his council in the great hall of his palace, and the envoys delivered their message: "Sire, we come to thee on the part of the noble Barons of France, who have taken the cross to avenge the shame done to Jesus Christ, and, if such be God's will, to recover Jerusalem. . . . Therefore we pray you for God's sake that ye take pity on the land oversea, and the shame of Christ, and bestir yourselves to furnish our lords with ships for transport and for battle." The Doge answered: "Certes, this is a great thing that your lords ask of us. . . . We will give you our answer eight days hence." The answer, when it came, was thoroughly businesslike. They were ready to furnish, within a little more than a year (June, 1201), the necessary ships and provisions for 4,500 knights[1] and 20,000 foot-soldiers, and maintain them for nine months, at the rate of "four marks per horse and two per man"; total, 85,000 marks. To this equipment, "for the love

[1] "One knight" or "one lance," in these later mediæval armies always meant not only the knight himself but a certain number of attendants, sometimes four or five, but here, as the total shows, six. The soldiers below the rank of knight or squire were commonly styled *sergeants* (Latin, *servientes*).

of God," Venice would add fifty armed galleys of her own, " on condition that, so long as we act together, we shall take the half of all that is conquered, whether in territory or in money, by land or by sea." The pecuniary offer was certainly cheap enough ; at a time when the ordinary labourer was often receiving 1*d.* per diem in wages, the Venetians were offering to transport and feed this army at the rate of less than 1¼*d.* per man per diem. But the second clause inserted by this nation of shopkeepers, and accepted by the nobles apparently without misgiving, was destined, as we shall see, to change the whole face of the transaction.

The Doge had still to consult his people. After persuading first his Great Council of forty ; then a hundred other citizens ; then two hundred, and then a thousand, he was certain enough of his ground to call a general assembly of the whole city—ten thousand, Villehardouin tells us—in St. Mark's Cathedral. After a Mass of the Holy Ghost, and solemn prayer for God's direction, " the Doge desired the envoys to beg the people humbly to ratify the covenant. They came into the cathedral ; curiously were they gazed upon by many folk who had never seen them before. Geoffrey Villehardouin spoke for the rest, saying, ' Lords, the most high and puissant barons of France have sent us to you ; and they cry for your mercy, that you will take pity on Jerusalem, which is in bondage to the Turks, that for God's sake you will bear us company to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ. And they have chosen you, for they know that no other seafaring folk have such might as you and yours ; therefore they have commanded us to fall at your feet, and not to rise until you have granted that you will take pity on the Holy Land overseas.' Whereat the six envoys knelt at their feet with many tears, and the Doge and all the rest cried as with one voice, raising their hands aloft and saying, ' We grant it, we grant it ! ' Then there was so great clamour and uproar that it seemed as though the earth were falling to pieces." The Doge drew up the formal treaties ; and " when they

were written and sealed, they were brought before the Doge in his great palace, where was the Great and the Little Council. And when the Doge delivered the treaties, he knelt with many tears and swore faithfully upon the holy gospels that he would truly hold to the covenants therein contained; and so did all his councillors, six-and-forty in number. And the envoys swore to keep faithfully to the treaties and to their oaths to their lords; know that many a tear was shed for pity! And forthwith both parties sent to Pope Innocent at Rome, that he might ratify this covenant; and so he did with a right good will." The envoys then borrowed 5,000 marks, which they gave to the Doge as earnest-money.

Meanwhile, however, the young Count of Champagne died, "and divided the money which he would have taken with him on his pilgrimage among his followers and companions. . . . And he ordered that each one, on receiving the money, should swear on holy relics to join the host at Venice, according as he had promised. Many there were who kept that oath ill, and thus incurred great blame." The Crusading chiefs sent a deputation praying his cousin Eudes Duke of Burgundy to take the cross and lead them; on his refusal, to another cousin, Thibaut Count of Bar; but he also refused. Then their choice fell upon Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, one of the most brilliant figures of the day. He had himself fought against the Saracens; so had his father and two of his brothers, one of whom had become titular King of Jerusalem, while the other had married a daughter of the Greek emperor. Boniface himself was not only a warrior but a princely patron of troubadours; his court was one of the literary centres of Europe. He came now to Soissons, where "a parliament was held in an orchard of the abbey of Our Lady of Soissons . . . and they [the nobles] fell at his feet, with many tears; and he, on his side, fell at their feet and said that he would do it right willingly." Foulques de Neuilly, who was there, went on to preach

through Burgundy and Provence, where he persuaded many great folk to take the cross.

Now at last (June 1202) the pilgrims began to leave their homes: "and you must know that, at their departure, many were the tears shed for pity and sorrow by their kindred and their friends." They marched through Lombardy to Venice; and here their first great trials began. To begin with, they have already broken their contract in the matter of time; and their delay has already put the Venetians to serious expense; and, worse still, this delay drags on and on. The main body of the Crusaders were come; the Venetians, with characteristic caution, lodged them all on the island of St. Nicolas, at some distance from the city. At first, their spirits were high: "Goodly was this host and rich, and great trust had the Count of Flanders and the pilgrims therein, because the greater number of their good sergeants marched therein. But ill did they keep their word to their lord, and all the others also; because these men, and many others, feared the great peril which those who were at Venice had undertaken. Thus the Bishop of Autun failed us, and Guy Count of Forest, and Pierre Bromous, and many others who likewise broke their promises, wherefore they were blamed and did few exploits where they went; and from among the French there failed Bernard de Morveil, Hugues de Chaumont, Henri d'Araines, Jean de Villers, Gauthier de St. Denis, his brother Hugh, and many others who avoided the passage by Venice by reason of the great perils that lay there, and went away by Marseilles, whereby they earned great shame and blame, and great misadventure befell them afterwards."

The complaints which Villehardouin utters here, and in many other places, against lukewarm or treacherous brethren, need some explanation. Doubtless a good many of these men deserved all his blame; even the Count of Blois, for instance, one of the first and greatest men to take the cross, showed signs of shirking; Villehardouin and the other leaders had a good deal of

trouble to keep him to his vow. Again, others who did not intend to abandon the Crusade were yet unwilling to fall in with this Venetian contract; they would sail as they chose, from Marseilles or other ports. A great fleet, for instance, sailed from Flanders on its own account round by Gibraltar. "These men promised Count Baldwin, and swore on the holy gospels, that they would sail by the Straits of Morocco, and would join him and the host that was at Venice wheresoever they might hear that these might be;" but they broke their oath. However, not all these men who failed Boniface at Venice were shirkers; on the contrary, many were more in earnest than some of their own leaders. For there had been discussions, from the first, as to the route to Jerusalem. Some wanted to sail straight for Syria; others held that, as things now were, the most favourable point for attack upon Jerusalem was through Egypt. Roughly speaking, it was the small folk who favoured the direct and simple route, and the great barons who preferred the more complicated course as strategically preferable. For they knew, among other things, that the Western settlers in Syria had now concluded truces with the Saracens; the Crusaders, therefore, would be greeted by their fellow-Christians less with gratitude for their help than with embarrassment for their interference. One chronicler even tells us that it was Innocent himself who suggested this Egyptian plan; but Luchaire is probably right in deciding that the Pope was indifferent in this matter; Jerusalem must be regained, no matter by what route. In any case, as we have seen, the Pope was not consulted by the barons.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOURTH CRUSADE—II

But the mass of Crusaders were far from indifferent; they, who would have to do the fighting, were naturally interested in this fundamental question of strategy. Hence many of the defections which Villehardouin deplores; different bands never came to Venice at all, but sailed on their own account for Syria as best they could. But this meant ruin for the Venetian contract; and at this point the Crusade, which from the first had escaped from Innocent's hands and become a predominantly lay movement in its execution, though of course not in its avowed object—at this point, it comes within the vortex of economic pressure. Here are the pilgrims, unable to quit their island, utterly unable to pay in full, and heaping up charges against themselves for every day by which they prolong their sojourn. The Doge, we are told, even began to put the screw on by threatening to leave them to starve on that barren spit of sand. Then, at last, he tempted them with a bait which he knew they could not resist. Venice claimed Zara in Dalmatia; the King of Hungary now held it; let the Crusaders help the Venetians to take this city, and they shall be forgiven the missing 34,000 marks until they can pay them out of their war booty. The nobles accepted, apparently without much demur, though, at the actual siege, some protested very strongly against this shedding of Christian blood. But the common folk were im-

patient; the bargain was concealed from them as far as possible; they wanted to sail straight for Syria. Some managed to slip off on their own account; but Clari describes large numbers as hoodwinked altogether; they knew only that the ships were now about to sail, and supposed that in a few days their feet would tread the Holy Land. "So they made so great rejoicing that night that none was so poor but that he made some great light; and they bore bundles of tapers, at the end of their lances, all round and within their huts; so that all the host seemed to be on fire." Already, before this, the Legate had sent home a mass of Crusaders who would be useless in the field; women, invalids, and beggars. Here, again, is another sign of the business and lay character of this expedition; there must now be no People's Crusade, as in 1099, when Urban and his ministers had conceived the ideal of a pilgrimage *en masse*, open to all religious penitents of whatever sort.

Moreover, the Legate allowed himself, despite all religion and morality, to wink at this attack upon Zara; yet here was a Christian city, held by the King of Hungary who himself had taken the cross! He tried at first to dissuade the nobles, and then only demanded a promise that from Zara they would sail straight for Egypt. When other Churchmen remonstrated with him, he answered them: "The Lord Pope would rather overlook this grievous strait wherein we are placed than dissolve the Crusade:" "It is better to suffer a lesser evil in order to gain a great advantage." All the Pope's policy, as Luchaire says, is summed up in those two sentences. He himself told Boniface by word of mouth not to attack Zara, and wrote to the Crusaders forbidding it under pain of excommunication. They took no notice of his letter, but sailed on the 8th of October, some three months later than the date originally stipulated; a fleet such as no man had seen before in the West. Villehardouin describes the splendid war-horses, the three hundred mangonels with other siege engines, the emblazoned shields ranged all round the

bulwarks and on the ships' castles, and the innumerable banners waving in the wind. Clari paints the picture with more detail: "Each of the great men had his own ship for himself and his men, and a transport for his horses; and the Doge of Venice had with him fifty galleys, at his own cost. That in which he himself sailed was all vermilion; and an awning of vermilion samite was stretched over it; he had also four silver trumpets which trumpeted before him, and cymbals which made great joy; and all the nobles and clerks and lay folk, great and small, made such joy at our weighing anchor that never had such joy or such a fleet been seen or heard of; and then the pilgrims made all the priests and clerks mount into the castles of the ships and chant the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*; and all, both great and small, wept for the bliss and the great joy that they felt. . . . Never had there been so fair a sight since the world began. For there were a good hundred pairs of trumpets, whether of silver or of brass, which all sounded as we set sail; and so many cymbals and tabors and other instruments that it was marvel to hear. When they had put forth, and had hoisted their sails and unfurled their banners and pennons on the castles of the ships, the sea seemed to swarm with ants, all aflame with the ships and the great joy that they made." Yet when they came before Zara (Nov. 10) they were dismayed at the sight of these old imperial walls and towers; "and they said one to another: 'How could such a city be taken by force, save by God Himself?'" Next day, however, the Crusaders burst the chain that defended the harbour; and "then might you have seen many a knight and many a footman swarming out of the ships, and taking thence many a good war-horse and many a rich tent and pavilion." A Cistercian abbot did indeed read publicly the Pope's letter with its threat of excommunication; and Simon de Montfort, with some other nobles, protested indignantly against this double crime of aggression and disobedience. But the Doge insisted: "Not for the Pope's

sake will I give up;" and he called on the nobles to fulfil their promise, and they took his side. After five days' siege the wall was undermined, and the citizens surrendered to the Doge on promise that their lives should be spared. And, as it was now late in the year, he easily persuaded the other leaders to winter in the town. It was divided, by agreement, between the Venetians and their allies; but these accomplices soon fell out. "On the third day after they were all lodged, about the hour of evensong, there befell a great misadventure; for a very great and bitter conflict blazed forth between the Venetians and the French; and on both sides they ran to arms. The affray was so fierce that there was no street wherein was no fighting, with swords and lances and crossbows and javelins; and many were wounded and slain. . . . The leaders, who would have none of this folly, came in armed among the combatants, and strove to part them; but, when they were parted in one place, they began again in another. Yet by great labour and persistence they were parted at last. Know that this was the greatest pain that ever befell an army; a little more, and our host would have been utterly lost; but God would not suffer that. Many were slain on both sides. . . . The Doge and the barons laboured sore for all that week to put an end to this strife; and they laboured so well that peace was made, thanks be to God."

Innocent soon heard of the capture of Zara, and wrote in bitter rebuke to the Crusaders. "You have fallen away from the purity of your first intention; you have left the true way; you have looked back like Lot's wife. Instead of making for the Promised Land, you have thirsted for the blood of your brethren. . . . The men of Zara demanded that their quarrel with the Venetians should be submitted to our judgment; yet you did not listen to them. Then they hung crucifixes from their ramparts; yet you stormed their city. . . . We had expressly forbidden you to attack your brother Christians, under the severest penalties. . . . We had

laid our excommunication on all who should disobey us, and deprived them of the Crusaders' privileges. . . . You have respected neither God nor the Apostolic See. You obliged the defenders to capitulate; under your very eyes the Venetians have razed the city walls, plundered the churches, and cast down houses; and with them you have divided the plunder of these poor wretches." He exhorted them to restitution; otherwise his excommunication must take effect.

The Venetians cared little, and gave no sign of repentance; but the French and German Crusaders desired absolution. The bishops who were with the army absolved them, making them swear that the guilty parties would submit to the Pope's commands. Then they sent envoys to clinch the matter formally at Rome; but no Venetian joined this mission. Innocent was severe in word but compliant in fact. The bishops had no right to grant absolution until restitution had been actually made: the Crusaders must disgorge now, and swear to fight no more against Christians, and promise to grant what satisfaction the Church may demand. That is what we find in Innocent's own letters; yet Villehardouin and another trustworthy chronicler represent the Pope as favourable to the deputation. "He sent word to the barons and pilgrims that he sent them his blessing," says the former, "and absolved them as his sons." This, crude and inaccurate in form, is true in substance; here, as in the past and in the future, Innocent concedes the substance while he saves appearances. Above all things, the army must be kept together.

This comes out even more plainly in a simultaneous letter in which he dealt with the Venetian difficulty. What excuse can he find for absolving these folk who ostentatiously neglect even to ask him for absolution? Yet, if he does not absolve them, how ignore the fact that they are excommunicate, and that Canon Law forbids all faithful sons of Holy Church to have any dealings whatever with excommunicates? Innocent's solution is a striking testimonial to his early proficiency

as a lawyer; it was incorporated by Gregory IX. in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* as a model solution for a frequent case of conscience. "If it befall that these Venetians care neither to give satisfaction nor to be absolved (and indeed they are said not to grieve but rather to boast of what they have done), then we permit you to sail with them to the land of the Saracens or the province of Jerusalem, according to what you have contracted or shall lawfully contract with them; but deal as little with them as possible, and with grief and bitterness of heart, and in hope of pardon. For, seeing that they have already received from you the greater part of the passage-money, nor can they be persuaded or even forced to disgorge this, therefore, if you acted otherwise, you would seem to suffer for your penitence and they to profit by their contumacy. For Canon Law . . . admits that, when the head of a family is excommunicated, the family is nevertheless excused for communicating with him. Now though the Doge be excommunicated, yet you, as his family, so long as you are on board of his ships, will not be touched by his excommunication, but will be excused in God's sight." Arrived in Palestine, you must not allow the Venetians to fight in alliance with you, remembering Joshua's disaster at Ai (Judges vii.; *cp.* 2 Chron. xx. and 2 Macc. xii. 40). On the way, at Constantinople, if the Emperor will not furnish you with necessaries, you must take them; "for necessity, especially when we are bent upon a necessary work, excuses many things in many cases;" and we have good Biblical precedents (Judges viii. 5 ff., and Luke vi. 1 ff.). "Now we have not quoted these examples from Holy Scripture as a concession to robbery, but in order to tolerate that which could not be avoided, by reason of this grievous necessity, without heavy loss. But deal ye prudently and cautiously, in order that, if it befall that the Venetians seek occasion to break the expedition up, ye may be careful to dissemble and suffer many things for a season, until ye be come to your destination; and then, when

opportunity presents itself, ye may take proper means to repress their malice." This very liberal spirit of compromise worked its natural effect. Innocent had granted the barons an inch—perhaps we should more truly say a foot—and they took an ell. They signed a promise to satisfy the Pope some future day, and received formal absolution for the past; but they quietly suppressed Innocent's other letter, with its definite excommunication of the Venetians. Boniface received it from the Papal Nuncio, kneeling "in all humility, in a spirit of compunction and devotion"; but he declined to allow its communication. He wrote his excuses to the Pope; to pass on this letter would mean that the expeditionary force would break up at once. Innocent replied that the letter must be communicated, or the Venetians would enjoy impunity and their fault would fall on the barons also. But the army had left Zara, in all probability, before the letter could have taken effect; in any case, it remained without result.

For, at the very time when these leaders were professing penitence and readiness for such reparation as was in their power, they had in fact begun to meditate a repetition of their crime; an attack upon fellow-Christians and diversion of the army from Jerusalem. Even before leaving Venice, they had begun to negotiate with Alexius IV. and Philip of Suabia; and here, at Zara, Alexius offered them definite terms: rich contributions for the Crusade in money and in men, and the subjection of Greek Empire and Church to Rome. Nothing could suit Venetian ambition better; Boniface of Montferrat persuaded the barons to accept; and Innocent's Legate encouraged the scheme. There was something like a mutiny in the ranks; and a good many knights and footmen left the army here, in order to cross straight to Syria as others had done. "There was discord in the host; nor need we wonder at discord among the lay folk, for the Cistercians themselves were at variance in our host," the Abbot of Loos preaching

one way, and the Abbot of Vaux-de-Cernai another. Montferrat and eleven other great nobles took a solemn oath to accept the Greek offer; but for the rest we may follow Villehardouin's account, only remembering that, to him, any dissentient was a man who wanted to break up the Crusade; whereas the majority of these opposed the leaders because they wanted a straightforward and direct continuation of the expedition towards Jerusalem. He writes: "Be it known unto you that the hearts of the people were far from peace; for the one party laboured to separate the host, and the other to keep it together. Many of the lesser folk went away in the merchant ships; in one single ship a good five hundred sailed, and were all drowned and lost. Another company departed by land, and thought to go through Sclavonia; but the peasants of that land fell upon them and slew many. And others departed by desertion from the host; and thus it diminished sorely from day to day. At that time a great lord from Germany, Garnier of Borland, departed in a merchant ship and slunk away; whereby he earned great blame. Soon afterwards a high baron of France, Renaud de Montmirail, prayed so hard, through the good graces of Count Louis, that he was sent on an embassy to Syria with one of the ships of the fleet. He swore with his right hand on the holy gospels, and all the knights who went with him, that within a fortnight of his arrival in Syria and delivering his message he would come back to the army. On that covenant he left the host [and many nobles with him]; yet the oath which they took was never kept; for they appeared no more in our host." He enumerates many more, and adds: "Be it known unto you, lords, that if God had not loved our host, it could never have held together against so many folk who wished it ill!"

From Zara the host sailed to Corfu, where Alexius joined it. But here, again, discord was rife. "For a great part of those who wished to break up the host," (we must remind ourselves of the bias of Villehardouin,

as one of the great barons whose decision they were opposing against these men,) "spake together, saying that this matter seemed very long and perilous; wherefore they would stay in this island and let the host go." He names fourteen, adding: "and many more, who had promised them secret support, not daring to join them publicly for fear of blame; therefore this book of mine testifies that more than half of our host was of their mind." When Montferrat and the greater barons heard of this, they said, "'Lords, we are in evil case.' . . . And they went, all together, to a valley where these men were holding their parliament; and with them they brought the son of the Emperor of Constantinople, and all the bishops and abbots in the host. When, therefore, they were come to that place, they dismounted; and the others dismounted also and went to meet them; and the [great] lords fell at their feet, weeping sore, and saying that they would not move until the others had promised that they would not depart. When the others saw this, they had great pity and wept sore. Seeing their lords and kinsfolk and friends thus fall at their feet, they said that they would debate of this matter. Then they drew apart and spake together; and the sum of their counsel was this, that they would abide yet with the host until Michaelmas, under covenant that the others should swear to them loyally, on the holy gospels, that from Michaelmas onwards, wheresoever they might demand it, they would give them ships in good faith, and without deceit, to take them to Syria. Thus it was granted and sworn; and then there was great joy throughout the host; and so they took to their ships, and the horses were put on board the transports."

These dissentients, of course, might have pleaded the Pope's wishes as conclusive in their own favour; but one of the most curious things in Villehardouin's chronicle is his ignorance or neglect of Papal policy, though on this Crusade he and his fellow-chiefs were, nominally, only subordinate agents for the Roman See. We must

remember that he wrote at a date when some of Innocent's most definite commands had been quietly set aside by those to whom they were addressed; and also, that Innocent himself had winked at, or actually implied acceptance of, such disobedience. In the Pope's letter rebuking the pillage of Zara, he evidently anticipates further attacks on fellow-Christians. In that letter, of May 1203, which Boniface had taken upon himself to suppress, he goes much farther: "The gravest fault is to repeat our faults; let no man among you flatter himself that he has a right to invade or pillage Greek territory. . . . If you need booty and conquests, take them from your true enemies, the Saracens." Yet, when he heard of the signature of the Treaty of Corfu, he made no attempt to restrain the Crusaders by a fresh excommunication. For, not only did this second infraction make it evident that his second interference would be as useless as the first, but, this time, the Pope himself was tempted at his weakest point. Alexius had promised to fulfil that dream of all the mediæval Popes by subjecting the Greek Church to Rome. Nor are these mere modern inferences from Innocent's letters and behaviour; they transpire not only from Villehardouin's silence but from the explicit words of orthodox contemporary chroniclers. The Cistercian Alberic of Trois-Fontaines tells us that Innocent fell in willingly [*benigne*] with the project of Alexius; the Annals of Cologne, that he sent the Crusaders to Constantinople for the subjugation of the Eastern clergy. The Cistercian Günther of Pairis goes further; Innocent's misgivings were neither moral nor religious, but political; he would have been very glad that a Catholic army should take Constantinople without bloodshed, but he feared that the army might be beaten, seeing that the mere fishing-fleet of Constantinople was more numerous than the whole Crusading flotilla. No doubt these contemporaries do injustice to the Pope; we cannot take their words strictly. But they show clearly enough that, while Innocent was writing disapproving

letters, most men knew nothing of these ; indeed, how should they, so long as the Pope confined himself to letters ? Of those who might be told vaguely that Innocent disapproved, most would believe this or disbelieve it, according to their own inclinations ; and the fact remains, as plain to contemporaries as to us, that these Crusading chiefs spoke and acted as if there were no Papal disapproval whatever.

Villehardouin tells us little about this short pause at Corfu ; but Luchaire quotes a significant incident from the Halberstadt chronicle. The Greek archbishop had invited some Latin prelates to his table ; the talk naturally drifted to the question of Roman supremacy. The archbishop said : " I see no reason for Rome's claim to supremacy but this, that Christ was certainly crucified by Roman soldiers ! " Armed conflicts broke out before the Crusaders had left. They began to sail on the 24th of May, war-galleys and transports and merchant ships : " and the day was fair and clear, and the wind soft and favourable, and they spread all their sails to the wind. And Geoffrey, Marshal of Champagne, who writes this work, wherein he has never to his knowledge set one false word, and who was present also at every council that was held—Geoffrey, I say, beareth witness that so fair a sight was never seen before. It might well seem that such a fleet would conquer and gain lands ; for, as far as the eye could see, all was covered with sails and ships and galleys, so that we were right glad at heart." At Cape Malea, they met two ships with returning Crusaders, of those dissentients who had sailed on their own account from Marseilles the year before. " And a sergeant let himself down from his ship into the boat [which we had sent to find who they were], and cried to his fellows in the ship, ' I cry quits to you for any goods of mine that remain in the ship ; for I go with these men, for well I deem that they will conquer lands.' Much did we make of that man, and gladly was he welcomed in the host. For, to say truth, a man may find his way right in the end even after a thousand

crooked ways." In the Bosporus, where the fleet was again concentrated, "you might have seen the Straits all in flower, as it were, with ships and galleys, the beauty whereof was a great marvel to behold. Thus they sailed up the Straits till they came, on the 23rd of June, to an abbey that lay three leagues from Constantinople. Then they had all full sight of Constantinople; and they came to anchor in the haven. Now you may know that those who had never seen that city gazed much thereon; for they could never have dreamed that so rich a city could be in the whole world, when they saw those lofty walls and rich towers wherewith it is enclosed all round, and those wealthy palaces and lofty churches, whereof there were so many as no man might believe who had not seen them with his own eyes, and the whole length and breadth of that town which was queen above all others. And know that there was no man so stout-hearted but that his flesh crept; and this was no marvel, for never was so great an enterprise undertaken by any folk since the creation of the world." The leaders held a council, and decided that regular foraging parties should be sent to the islands hard by, to take all that the army needed. As for the ships, "they rested thus that night. Next morning the banners and pennants were displayed on the castles of the ships, and the shields were uncovered and the bulwarks garnished; and every man looked to his arms, such as he should use; for we all knew well that we should soon have need of them. Then the sailors weighed anchor and spread sails to the wind; and God gave them a fair and convenient wind. Thus we passed before Constantinople, so near to the walls and towers that we shot at many of their vessels. There were so many folk on the walls and towers that it seemed as if there could be no more [in the city]." They crossed the Straits, landed at Scutari, and found there an abundance of provisions: for their foragers drove off the Greeks without much difficulty. They sent a message to bid Alexius III. resign in favour of his

nephew; he answered with defiance and threats. They then decided to attack with their 20,000 men a city which they believed to contain 400,000. But the attempt was not so desperate as it seemed; for the Greeks had abandoned the prehistoric tradition that every man born in the country should be able, if need be, to assist in its defence. The Jewish Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who described Constantinople a generation earlier than this, was anything but a militarist; yet he could not help remarking this contrast between Eastern and Western civilization. The Greeks were not averse from bloodshed, but they were unwarlike. "Lions, bears, leopards, and wild asses, as well as birds, have been trained to fight each other" in the hippodrome. But "the Greeks hire soldiers of all nations, whom they call barbarians, for the purpose of carrying on their wars with the Sultan. They have no martial spirit themselves, and, like women, are unfit for warlike enterprises." Yet, with this terrible disparity of numbers, Villehardouin felt the hazard; here was an enterprise "either to live or die"; for "be it known unto you that this venture was one of the most redoubtable ever attempted. Then did the bishops and clergy speak unto the people, and bid them confess and make each one his testament, seeing that no man knew how God might dispose of him. And this was done right willingly and piously throughout the host. . . . A little after sunrise, the morning was fair; and on the other side the Emperor Alexius awaited them with a great army in fair array. Then the trumpets sounded, and every galley took a transport in tow, that we might come more quickly to the other side; none asked who should go first, but each made for the land with all speed. Then the knights went forth from the transports, and leapt into the sea to their waists, fully armed, their helms laced and their lances in hand; and, as soon as they touched ground, the good archers came and the good soldiers and the good crossbowmen, each in his own company. The Greeks made a fair

show of resistance; but, when we lowered our lances, they turned tail and fled away and left the shore to us." Next day the Venetian fleet, with great difficulty, broke the great chain that barred the harbour, and the Franks stormed the tower of Galata from which the chain was stretched. But they could not stop at this point for long. "Our stores were scanty save meal and bacon, and even of these we had little; of fresh meat none at all except from the slain horses. And know that, for the host in general, we had only three weeks' food; thus we were in great peril, for never did so few men besiege so great a city. . . . Thus our peril and toil lasted for nearly ten days, until all things were ready for the assault (July 17)." The Venetians were to attack from the sea, and the Franks by land. "We planted two ladders at a barbican near the sea; and the wall was well defended by Englishmen and Danes;"[1] and the attack was stout and good and fierce. By main strength certain knights and two sergeants mounted the ladders and gained the wall; and at least fifteen followed them and fought there, hand to hand, with axes and swords; but those within came on more fiercely and cast them forth after a very rough fashion. . . . Many were wounded and had broken bones, so that the barons were very wroth." Meanwhile the Venetians attacked, "the ladders on the ships coming so near that in many places swords and lances crossed; and the tumult and uproar were so great that it seemed as if the very earth and sea were melting together. . . . Now may you hear of a strange deed of prowess; for the Doge of Venice, who was an old man and blind, stood in full armour on the prow of his galley, with the standard of St. Mark displayed before him; and he cried to his men to set him ashore, else would he do justice on their bodies with his own hands. Thus then they did, for the galley was aground; and they leapt down, bearing the standard before him to land. So

[1] The Emperor's "Varangian Guard," part of that "barbarian" army of mercenaries spoken of by Benjamin of Tudela.

when the Venetians saw St. Mark's banner on land, and their lord's galley running first aground, then each held himself for shamed, and they all sprang ashore, each as best he could. Then might you have seen a great and marvellous onset; and here can Geoffrey of Villehardouin bear witness, who makes this book, that more than forty men have told him for sooth that they saw the standard of St. Mark of Venice floating from one of the towers, yet no man knew who bore it thither. Now hear of a strange miracle; the defenders fled and abandoned the walls, and the Venetians entered in, each as best he could, and seized twenty-five of the city towers and manned them with their own men. . . . The barons were so overjoyed that they could not believe their ears. . . . But when the Emperor saw that we had thus entered in, he sent his men against them in such numbers that our men saw they could not withstand that assault. Therefore they set fire to the buildings between them and the Greeks; and the wind blew from our quarter; and the fire waxed so fierce that the Greeks could not see our men, who withdrew to the towers which they had seized and conquered."

Alexius then brought out his whole army to fall upon the Franks in their camp. The Franks, not altogether undismayed by this vast superiority of numbers, stood firm behind their palisade. "And the Emperor rode so far forward that either side could shoot at the other. So, when the Doge heard this, he made his men come forth from the towers which they had taken, and he said that he would live or die with the pilgrims. So he came to the camp, and was himself the first to land; and he brought with him such of his own men as he could." Alexius, daunted by this firm attitude, never dared attack, but retired slowly at last; "and be it known unto you that never did God save any people from such peril as that from which He saved our host on that day. So we returned to our camp and doffed our armour; for we were weary and overwrought, and we ate and drank but little, seeing that we had but scant store of victuals.

Now hearken unto the miracles of our Lord, so gracious whensoever He doth vouchsafe to work them! That very night the Emperor Alexius of Constantinople took of his treasure all that he could bear away, and as many of his people as would go with him, and so fled and abandoned the city." The blind Isaac was taken out of prison and set on the imperial throne; he ratified his son's contract; and on the 1st of August that son was formally crowned, "by common consent of Franks and Greeks," as Alexius IV.

Here again, then, came a point at which many Crusaders turned their faces afresh towards Palestine; the Greek question was settled, and they brooked no further delay. But here again the barons over-persuaded them; for, this time, they had prudence on their side. It was perilous to reach Palestine in winter; nothing could really be done until spring; moreover, it would take some months to fix Alexius firmly upon his throne. A fresh contract was made with the Emperor; the Crusaders would stay by him until March, and he would pay the whole expenses of army and fleet for a year. He was free now to make the round of his provinces, and secure the homage, where possible, of his new subjects.

But, "while the Emperor was on that expedition, there befell a very grievous mishap at Constantinople; for a fight began between the Greeks and the Latins who were settled there, whereof there were many; and some men with evil intent set fire to the town; and that fire was so great and horrible that no man could quench or check it. So when the lords of our host, who were quartered on the other side of the port, saw this, they were much grieved and had sore pity, seeing these lofty churches and rich palaces melting and falling, and these great streets of merchant-folk blazing in fire, while they could give no help. Thus the fire began above the port, and gained all the thickest of the city, across to the sea on the other side, all along the Church of Santa Sophia; and it lasted eight days,

for no man could quench it; and the front of the conflagration, as it went forward, was a good league long. No man could tell the possessions and the wealth that was lost, and the multitude of men and women and children that were burned.[1] All the Latins who dwelt in Constantinople, whatsoever their country might be, dared not stay; wherefore they took their wives and children and all that they could save from the fire; so they took ships and barges and crossed the port to join the pilgrims; and they were in no small number, for there were a good fifteen thousand, great and small; and afterwards it was very profitable to the pilgrims that these had come over to them. Thus the Frank and the Greek came to evil accord, nor were they ever again so friendly as they had been; they knew not whom to blame, but it rankled in their hearts on both sides."

Worse, however, was soon to come. Alexius could not, or would not, fulfil his promises. "He led us on from delay to delay, making us scanty and poor payments now and again; and at last these payments ceased and came to naught." Boniface, after vain remonstrances, sent envoys to defy the Emperor in his own hall if he still failed to give satisfaction. The issue might have been foretold; they barely escaped with their lives; and "thus did the war begin, and Greek and Frank did to each other all the harm that they could, by sea and by land." One night, the Greeks let seven great fire-ships loose to drift down upon the Venetian fleet. "And to this Geoffrey the Marshal of Champagne bears witness, who writes this book, that never did men help themselves better at sea than the Venetians did that night; for they sprang into their galleys and ships' boats, and seized with hooks upon the fire-ships, all in flames, and dragged them by main force, in the face of their enemies, beyond the Straits; then they left them to drift down the Straits in flames. So

[1] The Greek chronicler Nicetas has left a celebrated description of the works of art which were thus destroyed.

great a multitude of Greeks had come down to the shore as no man might number ; and their cries were so great that it seemed as though earth and sea would melt together. They manned barges and boats, and shot at our men as they fought with the flames, so that some were wounded. . . . Deadly was the peril wherein we stood that night ; for, if the ships had been burned, all would have been lost."

CHAPTER X

THE FOURTH CRUSADE—III

At this moment a revolution broke out. Murzufle, the leader of the Greek nationalists, who from the first had resisted this subservience of the Emperors to foreign invaders, raised the city now in revolt, imprisoned Alexius and strangled him. This gave the Crusaders an excuse for taking the whole city: to Villehardouin, this was God's work. "Murder cannot be hid; and it was soon known to Greeks and Franks that this murder had been done even as I have told you. Then the lords of the host and the Doge held a council, wherein were also the bishops and all the clergy and those who held the Pope's commission; and they showed to the lords and pilgrims that he who wrought such murder had no right to hold lands, and that all who consented thereunto were partners of the murder; and, above all, that these men had withdrawn themselves from obedience to Rome. 'Wherefore we say unto you,' said the clergy, 'that the fight is right and just; and if you have a true intention to conquer the land and put it under obedience to Rome, you shall have the plenary indulgence of your sins, as the Pope hath granted it to all such as die confessed and repentant.' Know then that this was a great comfort to the barons and the pilgrims. Great was the war now between Franks and Greeks, for it was never appeased; from thenceforward it grew more and more, and few were the days when there was no conflict, whether by land or by sea."

To the chronicler Günther, even the earlier capture of the sixteen towers had been an intervention of Providence: "It cannot be supposed that the entry of our army into Constantinople, that hateful city, rebellious against the Roman Church, was unwelcome to the Pope and to God."

So Franks and Venetians now made an agreement as to the partition of the future spoils, and attacked on the 9th of April: they were repulsed. A general assault on the 12th enabled them to capture one quarter. "That night, certain men whose names I know not, fearing lest the Greeks should attack them, set fire to the intervening buildings; and the city caught fire and burned terribly all that night, and all next day until the hour of evensong. And this was the third fire in Constantinople since our arrival; and more houses had been burned in the city than could be found in any three of the greatest cities in France." Murzufle fled, to be captured later by Isaac's brother, who treacherously put out his eyes, and finally to fall into the Crusaders' hands. They held a council, and decided "that he should be taken to the top [of the column of Theodosius, 147 feet high], and compelled to leap down, in the sight of all the people, because it was fit that so notable an act of justice should be seen by all men."

While the fire still raged, the pilgrims took the rest of the city, and the pillage began; indiscriminate at first. "The booty was so great that none could tell the end thereof; gold and silver and vessels and precious stones, and samite and silken cloth, and robes of all most precious furs, and every choicest thing upon earth. And well does Geoffrey of Villehardouin bear witness, Marshal of Champagne, that never, since this world was first made, had so much booty been won in any city." Montferrat and the Doge now appointed three churches for the collection and partition of this plunder, according to that preliminary formal agreement. "Some brought it in loyally, and others in evil fashion, being withheld by covetousness, which is the

root of all evil. So from that time forth the covetous began to keep things back, and Christ began to love them less. Ah God! how loyally had they borne themselves hitherto! and how well had the Lord God shown that He was willing to honour and exalt them above all others! But full oft do the good suffer for the sins of the wicked." The partition was systematic; a mounted sergeant had double the share of a sergeant on foot, and a knight double of the mounted sergeant. "And you must know that no man received more, neither for his rank's sake nor for his deeds, than this agreed share, save in so far as he may have stolen it." This saving clause is important, "for not a few kept things back, maugre the excommunication of the Pope." "Stern justice was meted out to those who were found guilty [of theft], and not a few were hanged. The Count of St. Pol hanged one of his knights, with his shield on his neck, for keeping back some of the spoils; but many there were, both great and small, who kept back part of the spoils, and it was never known. . . . If it had not been for what was stolen, and for the share given to the Venetians, there would have been at least 400,000 marks of silver and 10,000 horses." The Franks, having given the Venetians their half, paid 50,000 marks more to wipe out the old debt, and had 100,000 left to divide among themselves. "From strangers and pilgrims," writes Günther, "they became very rich citizens;" and Gibbon points out that the spoil taken in this week amounted to seven times the whole revenue of the kingdom of England at that time (note 106). The Greek chronicler Nicetas tells the story from his side; how they brought horses and mules into the churches and loaded them with spoil: reliquaries, altar-vases, plates of precious metals torn from pulpits, reading-desks, and doors; and, apart from all this sacrilege, the wholesale destruction of works of art. Those collected in Santa Sophia and in the Hippodrome were probably unrivalled in the world; but they had no appeal for the Crusaders, "those barbarians, indifferent to beauty,"

as Nicetas twice calls them. All the bronzes (and these were on the whole the most beautiful) were melted down; so that market-women, for centuries to come, were destined to buy and sell with coins which had once formed part of these inimitable statues. The Venetians, however, had taste enough to remove those four bronze horses which still adorn the façade of St. Mark's; and (though we have no documentary proof of this) there must have been a few artists among the invaders, now or during the following years, who were capable of learning from what they saw at Constantinople. For it can hardly be a mere chance that, whereas the sculpture of our Gothic cathedrals had hitherto been mostly developed from the solemn hieratic miniatures in Byzantine manuscripts, the early thirteenth century now shows a wonderful efflorescence of figures whose drapery or whose heads betray considerable acquaintance with classical Greek sculpture, whether directly or at second-hand. The destruction of manuscripts, as Gibbon points out, was probably immense. "The pilgrims were not solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue; the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplicity of copies; the literature of the Greeks had almost centred in the metropolis; and, without computing the extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have perished in the triple fire of Constantinople." It is probable that the world lost more here than at the Dissolution of the Monasteries in England; it is even possible that as much perished in 1204 as in the Turkish conquest of 1453. Villehardouin, so keenly interested in the exact value of what he and his fellows took, has not a word of regret for anything that was done in those days, apart from individual thefts.

Yet these were orderly scenes in comparison with others which must be quoted in Innocent III.'s own words. Even the Greeks did not stigmatize the deeds of the conquerors in stronger language than Innocent used in his letter to his Legate, when at last he had received

THE BRONZE HORSES OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

a full report. "How can we ever bring the Greek Church to unity with us, and procure its devotion to the Apostolic See? The Latins have given it an example only of iniquity and of works of darkness; the Greeks may well detest us as dogs. These defenders of Christ, who should have turned their swords only against the infidel, have waded through Christian blood. They have spared neither religion nor age nor sex. They have openly committed the foulest crimes. . . . And, as though it were not enough to suck dry the Imperial treasury and to rob all men, great and small, they have presumed to lay hands on the Church's wealth, and, more grievous still, upon her lands. They have been seen tearing away the silver plating of the altars, breaking them into fragments which they disputed with each other, violating sanctuaries, and plundering icons, crosses, and relics." We must make allowance for the language of official indignation; we must note, as Gibbon reminds us, that both Boniface and Baldwin published severe orders against licence, and that the abominations here described, though frequent, were doubtless not general. But there is no reason to doubt—indeed, Innocent's letter goes far to corroborate Gibbon's summary from Nicetas—the description of the sacrileges perpetrated by many of these Crusaders, contemptuous, as every Latin pilgrim was, of all Christian denominations except his own. "The desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party-zeal of the Latins. After shipping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking-cups; their tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with pictures of Christ and the saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. . . . A wanton was seated on the throne of the Patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sang and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals."

All this the Pope now knows; what, then, will he do? He will act now as we have seen him act before: the Crusade must be kept up, and the Greek Church must

be subjected to Rome; to those two objects every other must be subordinated. The facts place him in a cruel dilemma, but, under an outward show of uncompromising principle, he must compromise in practice.

Even before this last act of the Constantinople tragedy, Dandolo had outmanœuvred the Pope. Without making any promise, or pledging himself to any future satisfaction for the crime of Zara, the Doge simply asked Innocent's Legate for a letter of absolution. The Legate granted it; Dandolo at once wrote to the Pope: "Your Legate has absolved us;" and Innocent felt obliged to confirm it. But this was a small thing compared with his next difficulty. For the victors, in addition to all the sacrileges already described, set themselves now to found a Latin Empire which, in some of the most important clauses of its constitution, quietly ignored the Head of Latin Christendom. They elected Baldwin of Flanders as Emperor, and a Venetian cleric, Morosini, as Patriarch, though he was not yet even in holy orders, without any pretence of consulting Innocent. Baldwin, in his letter to the Pope, announces God's victory through the efforts of the pilgrims: "He hath given us some of the broadest and richest lands in the world, abounding in wine and oil and forests and pastures, and under the kindest of skies." Therefore, anxious as he is to reach Jerusalem, this new Empire must first be consolidated; let Innocent offer his indulgences again to all who will come from Western lands to join the expeditionary force, and let him call an Ecumenical Council to meet at Constantinople. Innocent answered as if he had never forbidden this attack on Greece; in another letter he even regretted that the Empire had not fallen earlier into Western hands, and authorized the Crusaders to remain a year in Greece in order to consolidate their work. His Legate went further; on his own responsibility he absolved from the Crusading vows every man who should remain for this year and help in this work. The Pope was angry;

for this might ruin the real expedition to Jerusalem; but, here again, he accepted the accomplished fact.

His disappointment grew as time went on. We have seen how Franks and Venetians, in March, had made a solemn contract with each other for the division of the future spoils. The preamble ran, "in honour of God and of the Holy Roman Church;" the last clause bound the contracting parties to obtain ratification at Rome, and spoke of excommunication for any infringement of the treaty; yet the contract itself practically ignored the Pope's well-known wishes. They elect Emperor and Patriarch without consulting him; they divide the territories as they choose; Baldwin is "Emperor of Constantinople by the grace of God, Emperor ever-august," without a hint of Papal confirmation on his throne. The clergy and the churches are to receive just such endowments "as will suffice for their subsistence and their honourable entertainment"; all other endowments of the Greek Church are to be divided among the laity. Luchaire writes truly: "By one stroke of the pen, the victors decreed, for their Empire, a reform which, if it had been applied to the Europe of that day, would have profoundly altered its inmost character." It was a practical realization of what a few anti-clerical thinkers had suggested in times past, and will again suggest in later generations of the Middle Ages; a vast scheme of disendowment, leaving the clergy practically in the position of paid servants of the State, with such salaries as the laity might judge fit. Such was the proposition put before this Pope who claimed to make and unmake kings, and to rule the whole West not only in the religious but also in the political field! The contemporary chaplain who wrote his life tells us: "The Pope was in the sorest straits, not knowing what course to take." He wrote strongly again, insisting on the illegality of the Patriarch's election, and on the injustice of these disendowment clauses, drawn up by the very men who had sacrilegiously pillaged the churches. To the Legate he addressed the

already-quoted reproaches for the crimes committed by the soldiery. But what effect could this generous outburst have? Innocent, in fact, acted still as he had always acted before. On principle, he disapproved of what he thought contrary to justice and morality, as well as to ecclesiastical laws and interests. In practice, having no other choice, he accepted the situation and took his share of the results. For, not long after the great pillage, Baldwin sent the Pope some relics, objects of art, precious stones, jewels, and even coin. Whence can this treasure have come, but from the collective booty, indirectly at least? Genoese pirates having seized this imperial gift on its way, Innocent set himself to recover it by threatening the culprits with excommunication, and the city of Genoa with an interdict.

The Crusaders, then, constituted their new kingdom very much after their own pleasure. In their dealings with the Greek clergy, the Pope practically gave them *carte blanche*. We must not, of course, judge Morosini too strictly by Nicetas's description: "A short stout man, like a fatted hog, clean-shaven after the Venetian fashion;" but certainly neither he nor any other Latin prelate was likely to earn the favour of his Greek subjects. Some Greek bishops submitted to the conquerors and retained their sees; but many were expelled in favour of Latin clerics, just as many monks were expelled from their monasteries; moreover, when the Pope interfered, it was seldom indeed that his action was in favour of any Greeks, and then, of course, only on condition of their submission to the Roman Church. In defence of his own dignity, he was called upon for frequent, though by no means uniformly successful, interference. Morosini was compelled by his compatriots to swear that none but Venetians should be given the rich canonries of Santa Sophia; that each canon should be compelled to swear that he would never elect any Patriarch but a Venetian; and that all the archbishoprics should similarly be confined to Venetians. He attempted to guard himself by Becket's formula: "Saving the rights,

honour, and authority of the Apostolic See;" yet the Venetians refused to admit this formula; he was compelled to swear without qualification; but the Pope presently absolved him from his oath. Innocent could not absolve him, however, from almost daily contests with his own folk: undisciplined prelates and priests whose very appointment was a usurpation, who were anything but the *élite* of the countries from which they came,[1] and who paid only lip-homage to their fellow-usurper; lay folk who refused to pay tithes; barons and an Emperor who had not only robbed the Church of vast sums and vast estates which they had not the remotest intention of restoring,[2] but who had also passed a Statute of Mortmain to check the growth of ecclesiastical endowments and, most revolutionary of all, had granted the clergy no privilege in the law courts beyond the rest of their fellow-citizens. Neither Patriarch nor Pope could really check these things; Morosini himself was finally accused of robbing the treasury of Santa Sophia and other embezzlements; he was hampered at every turn by the interference of the Papal Legate; and when he died he seemed on the point of open war with Innocent. The Patriarchate then remained vacant for four years.

The Greek clergy who accepted the Roman primacy were called *Uniates*. Innocent was as tolerant here as his principles permitted; he insisted on no more than the recognition of his authority, and allowed these clergy to continue their own traditional rites, in the hope that they might gradually be replaced by others who should be Roman in every sense. But these Uniates (like the *prêtres assermentés* of later history, the French priests who accepted the Revolutionary constitution) were unpopular with both parties. The division was one which could not be healed; for centuries past,

[1] A startling instance is given by Luchaire, p. 207 (Abp. of Neopatras).

[2] Villehardouin's nephew, the Prince of Achaia, was one of the most conspicuous and impenitent offenders here; like some of his fellows, he made very little account of excommunication.

the Greek clergy had despised the Latins as heartily as the Latins had despised them, and the conquest did but accentuate these antipathies. Two surviving documents throw more light than anything else upon the impossible task which Innocent had undertaken. One is a frankly polemical theological pamphlet, probably drawn up by the clergy of Constantinople: *Our Complaints against the Latin Church.* It accuses the Roman Church of unauthorized and mischievous innovations on the primitive Christian practices; their insertion of the *Filioque* clause into the Nicene creed; their liturgy in a language not understood by the worshippers; their substitution of "a wafer the size of a penny" for that bread which the first Christians used to break at the Holy Communion; their denial of the Eucharistic cup to the laity; their rule of clerical celibacy, strict in theory but ill kept in practice; and the irreverence which reigns in their churches, where folk go in and out during Mass, or bring in with them "dogs or bears or all sorts of unclean beasts."[1] Worst of all, the Latins make almost a God of their Pope; "law," with them, means the Pope's will, the present and existing Pope's will, which may contradict that of his predecessors. "It is these Latins who have perverted the traditions of the Fathers and distorted the words of the Apostles;" by this violation of patristic tradition they have plainly fallen into heresy.

The other document, from a very different source, is even more significant. Innocent's first Legate had shared the Pope's own tolerance; his successor, Pelagius, inaugurated what has been called a reign of terror. Clad in scarlet like a Greek emperor—nay, more, for "he was scarlet from head to foot, even to the

[1] For this accusation, strange as it may seem, there is plenty of evidence in orthodox records. As to the general feeling of the Greek clergy towards their Roman brethren, we may take Innocent's own words at the Lateran Council of 1215: when a Latin priest had celebrated the Eucharist, Greek priests would refuse to use that altar until it had been formally purified; they would rebaptize children baptized by Latins, etc., etc.

trappings and the bridle of his horse"—he rode roughshod over all national feelings. "He would fain compel us to admit that the Pope was above all other prelates, and to commemorate his name in our public prayers, on pain of death for all who refused." The Greeks appealed to the Emperor Henry: "We have consented to your reigning over our bodies, but not over our souls and our minds. We will fight for you in war; but we cannot abandon our own ceremonies and rites." And a group of Greeks appealed at about this same time to Innocent. This group claims definitely to approve of the union of the two religions and the two races; they accept the fact of the conquest, and plead only for reasonable toleration. "You know, honoured Lord, how God has given intelligence to man, and how religion is a matter of free-will, not of tyrannical coercion. If it was otherwise, we should baptize the Jews against their will. In matters of belief, punishment and constraint are absurd, for any man may act thus who has brute force; but to persuade men by the force of reason and of the principles of faith, that is the work of a good man devoted to the cause of truth. Which course, Lord, will you take? Will you force conversion upon us, constraining us like brute beasts, without permitting free examination? Or will you grant us the right of thinking and reasoning, so that God's truth may burst forth to the light of day? Know that we must some day give account of all our actions, and that we shall be asked: 'Have ye obeyed that word of God, *Search ye the Scriptures*?' None of us will yield to violence; we are all bent on risking our lives for Christ, and we are convinced that your wisdom cannot but approve this our resolve. . . . Ordain, Lord, an Ecumenical Council; send thither your Majesty's representatives; at such a Council all the disputed questions can be examined and resolved. . . . For, after all, it is impossible that both parties, Greeks and Latins, can be in possession of the true doctrine; by no ingenuity can contraries be brought to identity." We have here the widest conception

of toleration possible to the mediæval mind, apart from a few revolutionary spirits. John the Scot, as we shall see later, might indeed realize that truth is a thing as shifting and elusive as the play of colours in a peacock's feather; but to these Greeks, as to Innocent himself, it was something which could be put into such clear dogmatic form as would exclude all other presentations as false;[1] and, such being the belief on both sides, this Greek appeal to the arbitrament of reason was very remarkable.

Yet how could Innocent admit it? for, to him, the Roman Church was divinely in the right, and nothing that differed from the Roman statements in theology could be other than false. He was a pious and humane man; he disapproved of his Legate's tyranny; and, though in fact it was the Emperor who compelled this man to act more reasonably, Innocent would doubtless have done so if he had been on the spot. But he could not, on principle, grant to the Greeks anything like complete toleration for beliefs and customs which they had inherited from past centuries, and of which some, at least, were indubitably nearer to primitive Christianity than his own. For it was his duty, as Pope, to suffer no nonconformity that could possibly be suppressed; and here, as conqueror, he had vast power to suppress. Indeed, strongly as he had reproved the Crusaders' brutalities, he had not only done nothing to punish them, but had repeatedly made common cause with the pilgrims on all the main points of conflict.[2] We do not know whether he ever answered this pathetic missive from Constantinople; but certainly, within a few months, he defined his own attitude very plainly in answer to a letter of remonstrance from the Greek emperor at Nicæa, Theodore Lascaris. "We do not pretend that the Latins are guiltless; but we believe that this is a just judgment

[1] As Luchaire's long extract shows (p. 257), the Greeks were no less firmly convinced that hell was the reward of false dogmas than Innocent himself.

[2] See, apart from the following quotation, Luchaire, pp. 169, 194–5.

of God, who has used them as His instrument to punish the Greeks for their attempt to rend the seamless robe of Christ. . . . Those who would not join Noah in his ark perished in the deluge ; and, in the same way, those who have refused to acknowledge for their pastor the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, to whom God committed His sheep, have deserved to suffer famine. . . . It is just that the Greeks should have been replaced by men who wished for religious unity and the Crusade. Does not the disappearance of the evil husbandmen leave the ground clear for the good, who will occupy the land and bring it to abundant harvest? . . . Submit, therefore, to that disposal of Providence which has raised Henry to the Empire, and render him that homage which as a vassal you owe to him ; even as you and your men are bound to show respect and devotion to Us who, however unworthy, sit upon the throne of the blessed Peter."

It will be seen, then, that this Latin Empire lacked almost every principle of stability. It had, indeed, on paper, a more logical constitution than any other European State ; for it borrowed this from the kingdom of Jerusalem (see Chap. vi.). Again, it was founded theoretically upon a principle which passed for fundamental in Western society : that of the subjection of all other Churches to the Church of Rome. From those two points of view it had the best of chances ; it had at its back all the power, the prestige, and the long experience of Feudalism and the Papacy. It may even be called the creation of Feudo-Papalism ; and yet it turned out something of a Frankenstein-monster. The very title of the Doges of Venice strikes the keynote : they were " Despots of Romania ", " with the singular though true addition of *Lords of one-fourth and a half of the Roman Empire* " (Gibbon).[1] At every point, nominal order covered actual incoherence. Much of the territory

[1] By the Contract of Partition, the Latin Emperor received only a fourth of what Alexius had held ; the remaining three-fourths was halved between (*a*) the Venetians, and (*b*) the rest of the Crusaders. Thus the Doge received three-eighths of the old Empire—more even than the new Emperor.

assigned to different lords under the Partition Treaty was never really conquered from the Greeks ; therefore one crusading baron would indemnify himself by taking another's share. Again, Greek lords, holding out against the invaders, were finally accepted by compromise as feudal vassals of this new Empire. At the very beginning it needed civil war to bring Boniface to obey the Emperor ; next year, Baldwin himself perished miserably in battle against the Bulgarians (Hadrianople, 1205). The new kingdom was never really safe. For this was not one of those frequent cases in history where a clearly superior civilization conquers a lower, and the aborigines gradually die out, like the Bushmen of Australia and the North American Indians. Nor, again, did it resemble the destruction of the Roman Empire, where the invaders, though barbarous, were strong and healthy and numerous enough to build a new civilization, after centuries, on the ruins of the old. Nor, thirdly, was it like the Saracen and Turkish conquests, where the rival civilizations were fairly equal, where the deciding factor was victory in battle, and where the conquerors, though a minority, were numerous enough to form a ruling caste, and to live upon the labour of the conquered races. These Crusaders were never more than a handful in proportion to the great area they invaded. Partly by wastage, partly by luxury and indolence, they gradually lost even their military superiority ; the Greeks, meanwhile, were hardened and consolidated by adversity ; and in two generations the tables were turned. Emperor after Emperor followed upon Baldwin I., each more shadowy than his predecessor ; the last, Baldwin II., though he nominally reigned nearly as long as any two of the rest put together, spent nearly all those years as a vain suppliant from one court to another in Europe ; and in 1261 the Greeks finally drove the Latins out of Constantinople.

It is often noted that, in history, the moment of apparent success for a movement may prove the real moment of failure ; again and again, some man or some

ideal lends itself to Tacitus's epigram: "*Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*"[1] Innocent never seemed more successful than when he hurled one great army against the Albigensians, and another eastward; yet these proved perhaps the two greatest failures of his reign.

He never ceased to hope for the real Crusade as he had dreamed of it in 1199—a Crusade which should bring against Jerusalem forces even greater than those which had been squandered at Zara and Constantinople. In 1213 he made a supreme effort, when he announced the Ecumenical Council which he intended to hold in 1215. Not only must Crusade preachers scour Europe again, but the Pope now adds his own personal exhortations. Mohammed has seduced countless thousands with the bait of sensual delights; but his reign is now drawing near to its end. The Apocalypse fixes 666 years as the period after which the Great Beast shall be overthrown; and 600 of those years have gone by already. Let Christians now cease their own wars and throw themselves upon Islam; here they may gain "the certitude of Paradise, since by joining the Crusade they earn a plenary indulgence for their sins." Clergy and laity are to be taxed again, every effort must be made; no Crusader must be refused, since, however incapable in body, he may redeem his vow by paying for some one else; traders are again excommunicated who sell material of war to the Saracens; solemn monthly processions must be held, in which the men and women must be separated as much as possible; prayers and fasts are to be enjoined; at Mass, all are to fall on the ground while the priest interrupts the service to intone the psalm: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered."

But this vast Papal effort, and especially the misguided zeal of his Legate in France, provoked a great reaction. Princes and nobles had long resented the multiplication of these appeals, which brought confusion

[1] "A man who, by common consent, would have been picked out as an able ruler—if he had never reigned!"

everywhere among social, feudal, and economic obligations ; orthodox chroniclers, clerics or monks themselves, complain bitterly of these proceedings. When the Legate held a council at Bourges, the bishops as a body appealed against him to the Pope. Philip Augustus of France not only remonstrated with Innocent, but held an official inquiry into the abuses complained of, and published twelve articles which, under cover of respectful language, very definitely restricted the Pope's action in these matters.

At the Ecumenical Council (1215) Innocent spoke again of this Crusade as one of the things dearest to his heart. But even the desperate efforts of the last two years had not yet raised an efficient force ; later in 1216, again, the Pope cannot feel that the time is yet ripe ; and Luchaire quotes a confidential letter to Innocent from the Abbot-General of the Premonstratensians, which explains all. " The professors and theologians of the University of Paris have threatened, in a public manifesto, all Crusaders who fail in their vow, declaring that, if they do not set out within a year, they will be in mortal sin, and will lose the promised indulgence, even if they come to a better mind later on. Yet most of the great men [*magnates*] seem resolved not to stir. They care not for this University manifesto ; they fear neither spiritual chastisement from you nor constraint from the civil power. As for the multitude of Crusaders of low degree, they are saying : ' We are in a painful and distressing perplexity. We are ready to obey the Pope's commands, if he bids us set out ; for we have made our preparations, and we ardently desire to fulfil our vow ; but we know not how to set out or whither to go. In so far as human intelligence can see, we cannot help the Holy Land if we have no knights of our own land and our own tongue to lead us.' Here is the point, most kindly Father, whereon we pray you to decide without delay, and to such purpose as may console the afflicted and comfort the oppressed. These faithful Christians, whom I have seen take the cross with so

much enthusiasm, and who are ready to fulfil all their promises, must not fall into that gulf of despair which awaits them if they learn that this delay for which they are not responsible, and which is imposed upon them by necessity, is to result in cancelling the indulgences and depriving them of their privileges. Moreover, I say in confidence, and herein many are of the same mind with me, that, for the success of the Crusade, it imports much that Germans and French should not march together; nowhere does history record them as having agreed together in any great common enterprise. . . . Nobles and common folk should now have their time of departure plainly fixed for them, and the threat of punishment must compel them to obey."

When Innocent read those lines, his own death was near.

CHAPTER XI

THE FIFTH TO THE EIGHTH CRUSADE

THE last four Crusades need not detain us so long; for they all tell much the same tale.

Innocent III. never lost hope for the recovery of Jerusalem; yet it was not to come in his lifetime, or in the way that he hoped. "The very children put us to shame," he said, taking rather stimulus than discouragement from the strange Children's Crusade of 1212. A village boy from near Vendôme in central France, Stephen by name, came forward with the call to lead his fellows to Jerusalem, and to dry up the sea for their passage, as the shepherd Moses had done. Thousands believed him; some of his most enthusiastic followers went far and wide to preach the same gospel, and, in spite of royal disapproval, the pilgrims assembled and started. They were gradually joined by priests, peasants, and artisans; their numbers were reckoned (probably with the usual mediæval exaggeration) at 30,000; Stephen rode in triumph at their head. With difficulty a large number finally reached Marseilles, where an unscrupulous merchant offered them seven ships for nothing; he took them to Egypt and sold them as slaves. About the same time, there was a similar movement in the Rhineland cities, always populous and busy and excitable, fermenting with orthodox enthusiasm or with heresy. Another boy, Nicholas, preached the same gospel of a dry-shod journey to Jerusalem, and

bore a banner with the Thau-cross (T) before his army. It is remarkable that St. Francis, about this same time, took that same form of the cross for his own chosen symbol, and that Innocent III., in that sermon before the Lateran Council of 1215 in which he expressed his yearning for a Crusade, took the Thau as symbolical of God's mystical mark set on the forehead of the righteous (Ezekiel ix. 4). But Nicholas fared scarcely better than Stephen. His 20,000 children, no less encumbered than Stephen's with outsiders who were not always either moral or religious, crossed the Alps, not without heavy losses by desertion or death, and found their way to Genoa, where the governor would have nothing to do with them. Thence they wandered southwards to Brindisi, where the bishop persuaded them to turn homewards. A few went to Rome, and gained leave to postpone their Crusade till they had reached years of discretion; but it is probable that not one-tenth ever saw their father's house again. It is likely enough that the legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin is founded upon this tragical episode.

Yet Innocent, as we have seen, was not discouraged; and he presently enlisted three of his vassal-princes: John of England, Frederick II. of Germany, and Andrew of Hungary. John died, and Frederick held back after Innocent's death; but Andrew embarked at Spalato, with many German allies, and sailed for Acre (1217). Quarrels with the Syrian Christians delayed them; next year they were joined by a fleet of 300 ships from Friesland and North Germany which came round by Gibraltar. They planned to attack Jerusalem through Egypt, and, after a long and doubtful siege, took Damietta, at one of the mouths of the Nile. They were under the military command of a fine soldier, John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem; but the Papal Legate, Pelagius, claimed to supersede this authority. He rashly prevented John from accepting terms of peace which would have given them Jerusalem, the True Cross, and the restoration of their prisoners. They

pressed on to besiege Mansourah; the inundation of the Nile turned their camp into an island; and they were fortunate to escape at the price of surrendering their recent conquest of Damietta. Thus ended the Fifth Crusade (1221).

If Frederick II. had brought a considerable army, as he might easily have done, the result would probably have been very different. But he had taken the cross only on compulsion, as one of the conditions made by Innocent for supporting his election to the imperial crown; and he was not inclined to spend, upon a cause for which he felt no enthusiasm, the money and men which he needed for his own political projects. Rightly or wrongly, he passed for an atheist among his contemporaries; and certainly he had a strong dose of religious indifference. One day, for instance, while the muezzin cried the hour of prayer for Mohammedans close by Frederick's camp, the Sultan was about to silence him out of politeness, but Frederick would not suffer it. He had delayed his expedition, under one pretext and another, until the new Pope, Gregory IX., excommunicated him for his breach of contract (1227). Then Frederick sailed with a great army, while Gregory proclaimed a Crusade against him at home, and mobilized the clergy, the Templars, and the Hospitallers against him in Palestine. Yet the Emperor, taking able advantage of dissensions among the Mohammedans, concluded a treaty with the Sultan which gave him Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tyre, and Sidon; and, no cleric daring to consecrate him in defiance of the Papal ban, he took the crown from the altar of the Holy Sepulchre and placed it solemnly on his own head (1229). But he stayed scarcely more than a month in Palestine; and, for the next fifteen years, the kingdom of Jerusalem was torn by even more quarrels, perhaps, than we have seen in earlier times. At last, in 1244, the Sultan of Egypt hired 10,000 Chorasmian Turks, who stormed Jerusalem; and, a few months later, the Templars and Hospitallers were cut to pieces at the battle

of Gaza. Jerusalem was thus lost to the Christians for nearly seven centuries, until General Allenby occupied it in 1917.

Yet popes and kings still dreamed of the reconquest; and twice again the forces of the West were mobilized on a formidable scale against the East, apart from minor expeditions. These, the Seventh and the Eighth Crusades, were both due to the enthusiasm of Louis IX., King of France. His first expedition (1248) was in fulfilment of a vow made on his sick-bed. If Frederick II. had degraded the crusading ideal by bargaining for the recovery of Jerusalem and fraternizing with Mohammedan princes, Innocent IV. degraded it still more by mobilizing crusading armies, even more systematically than Gregory IX. had done, against the Emperor, who, after all, was the highest state official in Christendom. Christians might now choose whether they would earn a plenary absolution of sins by fighting against Mohammedans in Palestine or against Germans and Italians in Italy. St. Louis, who might have increased his own power indefinitely by serving Papal interests here, was too sincerely pious to follow such a policy; he had no doubt that, if he fought at all, it must be in Palestine, where he had no earthly crown or increase of territory in prospect, but the unselfish aim of freeing the holy places.

And here, in Syria, his military blunders did but heighten the picture of his religious and moral worth. Joinville's story shows us a most loyal, chivalrous, and devoted king, as seen through the eyes of an equally loyal servant. We see his personal bravery at the battle of Mansourah: "As I was there dismounted, with my knights, wounded as I have said, then the king rode up with his battalions, and with a great noise of shouting and trumpets and cymbals; and he halted on a raised causeway. Never have I seen so fair a knight! For he seemed to tower by the head and shoulders above his people; and on his head was a gilded helm, and in his hand a sword of German steel." Joinville speaks again

ST. LOUIS.

(*From a wall-painting in the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris.*)

of a magnificent charge led by Louis in one of the later battles; again, at the landing by Damietta, he had been the first of all the princes to leap into the sea. When the whole army was taken captive, it was he whose courage held out to the last, in spite of the scurvy and dysentery which had so weakened him that he could scarcely sit upright. On the shipwreck, again, he resolutely refused to quit the vessel so long as there was any hope of saving her, lest the sailors should then abandon her also and leave the common soldiers to the mercy of the waves. Being so strict with himself, he had a right to be strict with others; and we see how his mother's hot Spanish temper sometimes blazed out in him when his subordinates were at fault. Having caught his brother, the future King of Naples, playing dice with the Count of Nemours on shipboard, he threw dice and tables overboard with his own hands; for "he was very wroth with his brother because he had taken to dice again so soon [after the disasters to the army]. But my lord of Nemours came off best, since he cast into his own lap all the moneys that were on the table—for they were many—and bore them away."

But here was serious war, where the best intentions cannot atone for military blunders. From the first, he listened far too readily to the rasher counsels of his brother, Robert of Artois. Under this influence he abandoned the wiser course of methodically securing the whole seaboard, by taking Alexandria, and chose to march straight upon Cairo. This involved crossing one arm of the Nile at Mansourah, to which fortress they now laid siege as in the Fifth Crusade. But they had taken a month over the march from Damietta to Mansourah, only a few miles; and here they were delayed even more fatally. They built a causeway over the stream, but under continual danger from arrows and javelins. Then the three wooden towers which defended this work were burned by the enemy; and, when at last the causeway approached the farther shore, the Saracens dug out their own bank, and, with the current to aid them, kept

an impracticable stretch of water between themselves and the causeway-end. Discouragement and even desertion set in; but then a Bedouin revealed a secret ford, by which part of the army crossed. Robert, by a precipitate charge, dispersed the enemy, entered Mansourah, and, in spite of his promise to the king, pursued the fugitives farther, sweeping the Templars with him. When they turned, they found the town barricaded behind them; Robert was killed; his followers and the Templars were cut to pieces. Meanwhile Louis and the bulk of the army held their ground with difficulty, until the Saracens brought boats overland in pieces, put them together on the water, and destroyed the Christian flotilla. A sort of scurvy began to ravage the camp; "the flesh of our legs dried all up, and the skin of our legs became mottled with black and clay-colour, like an old pair of boots. . . . And dead flesh grew so sore upon the gums of our men, that the barbers had to cut it away before they could chew and swallow their meat. Great pity it was to hear the men wailing throughout the camp while the dead flesh was being cut away; for the soldiers wailed like women in travail." St. Louis ordered a retreat on Damietta; the enemy pursued and slaughtered among the disorderly host. The king might have escaped, but he fought in the rearguard. At last, when he could scarcely sit on his horse, and of all his immediate following only Sir Geoffrey de Sargines was left, he was taken prisoner; "and, as the king told me afterwards, Lord Geoffrey defended him from the Saracens as a good servitor defends his lord's drinking cup from flies." The king's brothers, Charles and Alphonso, were taken also; for none of the army escaped. Louis ransomed himself with difficulty at the price of 800,000 gold pieces and the abandonment of Damietta to the Saracens. Then he waited three years in the Syrian ports for reinforcements which never came. The great lords had lost their enthusiasm; while the common people wavered between easy scepticism and blind enthusiasm. An impostor, named

ST. LOUIS IN ARMOUR.

(*B. de Montfaucon : Monuments de la monarchie française* (1730), II., Plate xxi.)

Jacob, who had been a Cistercian monk in Hungary, claimed to hold a letter from the Virgin Mary in his clenched hand, as bearer of a commission to lead men across the sea, dry-shod, in succour of Jerusalem. Even St. Louis's mother, Blanche, believed in him at first; afterwards, we are told, he turned out to be a common slave-dealer. Multitudes in northern France and Flanders, indignant at the apathy of the nobles, joined this man for the so-called Crusade of the Shepherds (Pastoureaux). But the movement took a strongly anti-clerical turn; Jacob's followers were excommunicated; the royal levies fought and dispersed them at Villeneuve-sur-Cher; and only a handful found their way to England, whence they sailed under clerical blessing for the Holy Land. Louis was only able to go to Nazareth and other holy places as a barefooted pilgrim, and to set the coast fortresses in better order; then he sailed home in 1254, recalled by the death of the queen-regent.

But he never gave up his ideal; and, sixteen years later, the successes of the Sultan Bibars moved him to undertake the Eighth Crusade. The tolerant dynasty of Saladin's successors had now been superseded by that of the Mamelukes, a body of enfranchised slaves like the Turkish Janissaries, who formed the backbone of the army, and who now raised one of their own body to the throne. Bibars ("The Panther") was a Mongol by birth; he had originally been sold publicly as a slave in the market of Damascus, and his remarkable stature and bodily strength, his courage and resourcefulness and unscrupulousness, carried him rapidly to the front; and it was he who dealt that counterstroke at Mansourah which was so fatal to the Count of Artois and the Templars. When St. Louis had made terms with the last Sultan of Saladin's line, it was Bibars who led the conspiracy against him and struck the first blow with his own scimitar. This he confessed frankly to the regent who demanded an explanation of the deed; and the regent replied: "It is you, then, who must fill the dead

man's place" (1260). As Sultan, he made Egypt the centre of the Mohammedan world; living strictly by the Koran himself, and strictly enforcing its prohibition of wine, he ruled with the sternest military discipline; men called him *Father of Victories*; and he was almost uniformly successful against the Christians. In 1266 Clement IV. exhorted all France to a fresh Crusade; and St. Louis, more and more detached from earthly objects, decided to venture his person once again.

The princes whom he persuaded to join him made an imposing list: his brother Alphonso, with Charles also in promise; his three sons, the King of Navarre, and the Counts of Artois, Brittany, and Flanders. But most of the other captains joined under the king's pay; the spirit of 1095 was dying out. Joinville does not write with unmixed enthusiasm even of the Seventh Crusade: "And never, while I went to Blécourt and St. Urbain, would I turn my eyes towards Joinville, for fear lest my heart should melt within me for the fair castle that I was leaving, and for my two children. . . . And soon after setting sail [from Marseilles], we lost all sight of land and beheld only sky and sea; and day by day the wind bore us farther from the land of our birth. These things I write, that you may see how foolhardy is that man who dares to put himself in such peril with ill-gotten goods in his possession or in a state of mortal sin; for as you go to sleep at night you know not whether you will find yourself to-morrow at the bottom of the sea." And now, in 1270, though St. Louis and the queen pressed him hard, he refused to take the cross again: "for, if I set my life at stake for the Pilgrimage of the Cross, in a case where I saw clearly that it would be to the harm and damage of my men, then I should incur the wrath of God, who set His own life on the salvation of His people. My belief is, that all those who approved the king's expedition committed a mortal sin. . . . The king was so feeble that he suffered me to bear him in my arms from the Count of Auxerre's mansion, where I took leave of him, to the Franciscan

friary. And yet, ailing as he was, if he had stayed in France he might have lived long enough, and done many good works."

St. Louis, deceived by a report that the Bey of Tunis was ready to embrace Christianity, landed on that coast instead of attacking Egypt directly (1270); it is probable that Bibars had spread this false report in order to divert the first attack from himself. The Crusaders took Carthage; but there the Saracens blockaded them. They were tortured with heat and thirst; the enemy poisoned the air by casting up dry sand which the wind carried into the town. A plague broke out; the king's son, Tristan, died; he himself fell sick, and passed away a few hours before the landing of Charles of Anjou, whose hesitation had been mainly responsible for this disastrous delay at Carthage. Charles thenceforward directed the Crusade, and made it serve his own political purposes. He hastened to make peace with the Sultan on terms enormously advantageous to his own kingdom of Sicily; moreover, the huge sum of 210 ounces of gold was paid in equal shares to him, the King of France, and the great barons, while the rest of the army received nothing. Edward I. of England, who joined the Crusade only between the acceptation of the treaty (Nov. 1) and its final ratification (Nov. 21), disapproved; and in May 1271 he sailed to Acre, for a Crusade of his own. But he was disgusted to find how intimate were the relations of the Venetians with Bibars (from whom Charles himself had entertained a friendly embassy); his forces were insufficient for anything beyond scattered raids; and he was forced to submit when Charles finally made a ten years' peace with Bibars (April 1272). Long before this, the bulk of the French Crusaders had dribbled homewards, discouraged by a tempest which had destroyed thousands of them in the harbour of Trapani, and which the enthusiasts regarded as God's judgment upon the lukewarmness of their leaders. In a real sense, Edward I. was what Lightfoot has called him, "the last Crusader of the last Crusade." Thence-

forward there were frequent projects, a good many skirmishes, but nothing comparable to those eight wars of the past. Before the thirteenth century was out, the Franciscan Salimbene tells how Popes are embezzling the money raised for wars in the Holy Land, and the Dominican Étienne de Bourbon complains how "the great and wealthy men of this world . . . not only do not take the cross, but laugh at their inferiors who do so." In 1291 Acre was captured, after a desperate resistance; the five remaining fortresses fell within a few weeks; and the Christians no longer held a foot of land in Syria.

CHAPTER XII

RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

HERE we must beware of two equally fatal exaggerations. On the one hand, we must not argue *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, and make the Crusades responsible for every change in European life during those centuries. On the other, we must not refuse to admit any influence beyond such as can be proved by direct documentary evidence. The two most important fields of influence by far are those of Religion and Commerce. The latter will be discussed in a later chapter; before dealing here with the former, let me briefly summarize certain other results.

1. *Territory.* While we do all we can to avoid and discourage war, and face unflinchingly all that can be said about its cruelty and waste, we must beware of the assertion that nothing worth having can be gained by war: this is an exaggeration which will not bear a moment's comparison with the facts of history. A nation's religious faith, for instance, has frequently been determined, for centuries at least, by past victories or defeats; the present frontiers between Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism were originally military frontiers; so also with Catholicism and Protestantism within Christendom itself. Still more definitely have wars, or the threat of wars, decided whether this group or that shall enjoy a greater or a less share of worldly wealth or power. And, when we thus strike the balance of the Crusades, this is

not favourable, on the whole, to Christendom: "they began with the Seljukian Turk planted at Nicæa; they ended with the Ottoman Turk entrenched by the Danube" (Barker). In 1231, when the Teutonic knights began their steady advance against the pagans of the Baltic provinces, all the rest of Europe was already Christian, and those provinces were already destined to become Christian within half a century; a third of Asia Minor and the kingdom of Jerusalem were also in Christian hands, and missionaries were destined soon to reach China and Tibet. In 1453 the Mohammedans, having held the whole East for more than a century, and having captured their first European town in 1356, finally took Constantinople and held the Danubian provinces. These wars, therefore, were politically more successful, on the whole, for Islam than for Christianity.

2. *Baronage.* Within the Western world itself the Crusades hastened many changes, though each of these, in all probability, would have come sooner or later in any case. The heavy sales or pledgings of property brought about very considerable changes in the great estates; the baronage in France, especially, was as much weakened by this process as our own baronage by the Wars of the Roses. Again, familiarity with Oriental ideas of nobility and statecraft would naturally tend to make the Western baronage less conservative at home. Very influential, also, were the advances in military science; here the Greeks were our chief masters, especially in fortification. This led to a higher synthesis in military art, which enormously increased the superiority of great lords over the lower baronage and knighthood. Elaborate castles, like Château-Gaillard and Coucy and Beaumaris, were incomparably stronger than their smaller and ruder predecessors, but they were proportionately more expensive: so also with the improvements in attack: sapping and mining, great siege-towers for the battering-rams, and Greek fire. All this gave almost as much advantage to the king over his barons, and to the greater over the

lesser barons, as was created later on by the invention of gunpowder.

3. *Finance.* Again, the Crusades created direct taxation. The Roman Empire had an elaborate, if imperfect, system of direct taxes for the Imperial budget. But the barbarian invaders neglected this even more completely than they neglected other achievements of the Empire which they had destroyed. The early Frankish kings had no income for the needs of government beyond their own landed estates and feudal dues. Louis VII. of France, in 1146, imposed a direct tax on all his clergy for the needs of the Second Crusade; Philip Augustus and our Henry II., in 1188, decreed a "Saladin Tithe"; and presently the Popes followed their example: from the Fourth Lateran Council onwards (1215), the Popes are constantly to be found imposing Crusade taxes. Thus they, even more than the lay princes, gained enormous power from this new principle; it culminated in the claim of Boniface VIII. that the Papacy has absolute power in the administration of all ecclesiastical property, which it may dispose of, or tax, without asking the consent of any man. No mediæval emperor or king ever made such a claim as this.

4. *Civic Liberties.* Seeing that Feudalism, which had once been a progressive force, was now mainly conservative, it was naturally undermined by movements which brought popes or kings, merchants or peasants, to the fore. This is the great period of civic charters; and, though the movement preceded and outlasted the Crusades, yet we cannot reasonably doubt that they hastened it. Richard I. openly sold municipal charters to raise money for his own expedition; and though we must not cite this as normal, yet we cannot altogether dissociate it from the fact that, between 1100 and 1300, such a multitude of groups of peasants, comparatively rightless, bought charters which raised them to the comparatively independent position of free burghers.

5. *Nationalism.* Last but not least among political

results, we may count the quickened growth of national feeling. I have already noted the error of supposing that nationalism is a modern growth. The feeling of nationalism, as common sense would suggest, accompanies, or at least follows very close upon, the actual formation of nationalities; it is simply an instinctive recognition of the plain fact that, *cæteris paribus*, we are less likely to find friends among strangers than among those who share our land, our government, our language, and our routine of daily life; and, in consequence, that our interests are more closely bound up with our own country than with others. On the one side, the Crusades hastened the process of crystallization which was going on in the countries we now call England and France, Germany and Italy and Spain. "By the end of the period with which this volume deals 'Frenchmen' had a feeling of their difference from 'Englishmen,' 'Germans,' or 'Italians' more acute than at the beginning of the Crusades." And the weak side of Nationalist feeling, the negative side which leads a man to hate the stranger more than he loves his neighbour, comes out here and there in the chroniclers. The profession of religious unity throughout the West did not restrain a French abbot from writing on the Second Crusade, "Our men could not tolerate the Germans;" so again, in 1216, the abbot of Prémontré wrote to Innocent III.: "We cannot find in history that Germans and French were ever at accord in any great common enterprise." Moreover, if we turn to the East, religion was so far from assuaging national prejudices that it exalted aversion, or even active conflict, into a Christian duty.

A recent writer, attempting to distinguish between mediæval nationalism (which, he holds, was good) and modern (which is bad), attributes the latter to "the long duel between France and Germany. First under Louis XIV., and then under Napoleon, France tried to impose her own culture by force upon the rest of Europe; after 1870, it was Germany who made the same attempt." But the evil here emphasized, when we have described it

in the strongest terms compatible with truth, is exactly applicable to the era of the Crusades. For *France* and *Germany* read *Christendom* and *Islam*; or, again, within Christendom itself, read the little book written by Pierre Dubois in 1300, in favour of French dominion over the whole of Europe. Let the Pope (writes Dubois) sell his rights to the French king, who will then become undisputed sovereign, and the peace of Europe will be secured: "for it is a peculiar merit of the French to have a surer judgment than other nations, not to act without consideration, nor to place themselves in opposition to right reason." When two nations were actually at war, these feelings were naturally intensified; and the chronicler Walsingham quotes an English epigram of the Hundred Years' War, when the Popes lived not at Rome but in Avignon: "Now is the Pope a Frenchman, and Jesus is English; let us see who hath the stronger arm, the Pope or Jesus!"

6. *Arts and Letters.* In the minor arts of civilization we had already learned much from the East, and the Crusades taught us more. In architecture, the West probably evolved the pointed arch independently; but in ornamental detail it had much to learn from Oriental carvings and brocades. For figure-sculpture, the capture of Constantinople seems to have been epoch-making. The traders brought in new inventions, such as glass mirrors instead of polished silver or steel, windmills, and fruits hitherto unknown or unfamiliar. Learning was stimulated. Ancient Greek philosophy and medicine and science filtered independently through the Mohammedans and Jews of Spain; but the newer and correcter translations of Aristotle seem to have been directly due to the Latin kingdom of Constantinople. History and poetry and romance were stimulated by the knowledge of these strange lands, and wild adventures, and stirring deeds.

Let us now turn to consider their effect upon religion; not merely in its political aspect, the power of popes or

AN EASTERN BROCADE OF THE CRUSADING PERIOD.

(*E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc: Dictionnaire raisonné du Mobilier français*, III. (1872), Plate vii.)

priests, but as it affects the inner man. Here, more than anywhere else, we ought to be able to trace the influence of these wars upon European development; and, incidentally, upon that of the East, since no part of this world is really independent of, or can afford completely to ignore, any other.

The first and greatest effect was that Christendom began again to understand a little of other religions. We must not forget that, long before the Crusades, Christianity and Islam had been face to face in Spain, and that this would have continued in any case. Not only here, therefore, but in other fields also, the Crusades may only have caused what some other cause would otherwise have brought about; or, again, they may only have hastened certain results which, in themselves, were almost inevitable. Yet, on reflection, we shall see that these wars brought about a new kind of intercourse, with correspondingly novel effects. No doubt they could not effect what is now done by constant peaceful interpenetration: by merchants and travellers who go everywhere, and bring back wares or ideas from every side. But they do seem to have done more in this way than had then been done for some centuries past; and even this rough-and-tumble military intercourse made more for progress than mere stagnation could have done. Therefore, while fully recognizing that the Crusades themselves were only one symptom of that great European revival which would have gone far even without them—which would perhaps have gone farther still—yet must we not also attribute to these wars certain specific results, distinctive even if only slightly distinctive? In Spain, it is true, there had already been a good deal of intercourse between Christians and Mohammedans, but of a different kind. In Spain the two religions were divided only by an artificial frontier, and Alvarez of Cordova (A.D. 850) reproached his fellow-countrymen with their preference for Arab speech and Arab scriptures, to the neglect of their own Bible. In Sicily, again, Christians (both Western

CONFERENCE BETWEEN SARACENS AND CRUSADERS.*

(From a fourteenth-century MS. of the "Chroniques de St. Denis" in the British Museum.)

* This illumination represents an event which took place in the year 1270, when Alfonse de Brienne, Count of Eu, and great chamberlain of France, and his brother Jean de Brienne, surnamed of Acre, and grand butler of France, the sons of Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, who were on guard near Tunis, were accosted by three Saracen knights requesting baptism. Whilst occupied by them, the Count of Eu and his brother were attacked by the Saracens in force, and sixty Christians were slain before the infidels were put to flight.

and Eastern) and Jews and Mohammedans were not even divided by a frontier ; for generation after generation, under the Norman rule, they enjoyed equal tolerance side by side. But Sicily was an island, little known to the rest of Europe ; and in Spain, though the interpenetration on the frontiers was considerable, men moved little from their birthplace, and the more distant provinces were little touched by Mohammedan ideas. Europe in general was so ignorant of Islam that, before the Crusades, Mohammed was very generally believed to be not a man but a dumb idol, a sort of Juggernaut. The mere discovery that, in actual fact, it was the Mohammedan who looked upon Christians as idolaters, must have led to remarkable revulsions of thought. Many Crusaders could not help realizing the great superiority of Oriental civilization in certain important respects ; even, in some cases, they found the enemy less cruel and less deceitful than their own fellows ; they learned to respect these men, and came home to tell their friends in France or Germany or England. Saladin, we are told, once held a reception at which he spread carpets embroidered with crosses ; the Western lords trod on these without compunction, and Saladin read them a lesson : " My own Emirs would have been less careless of the symbols of their religion." Moreover, the East had sometimes lessons for the West upon most intimate and essential points of true religion. There is deep significance in Joinville's story, how his friend Friar Yves, in the city of Acre, met an old woman coming down the street with a chafing-dish of live coals in one hand and a flask of water in the other, and saying " that she intended to burn up Paradise with the one, and quench hell-fire with the other, so that no man henceforth might do right for reward of Paradise or for fear of hell, but for the pure love of God, who is so worthy and can give us all good things." The significance of this is heightened by another story he tells us from the opposite pole ; how St. Louis refused to allow any but very learned clerks to discuss religion with Jews. " The layman,

when he hears any speak ill of the Christian faith, should defend it not with words but with the sword, which he should thrust into the other's belly as far as it will go." We need not suppose that he took either of these extremes too literally; yet the one must have gone some way to modify the other in his own mind and in those of his readers.

He shows us striking instances of kindness shown by Saracens to Christians: how his own life was saved by one of them; how they left him his costly fur cloak to cover his body in sickness; and how an aged Saracen performed the lowliest offices for another sick Christian knight (§§ 321–325). Similar evidence comes from Marco Polo and all travellers in the East; great as was the frequent cruelty to strangers, equally striking were the exceptions which showed that human charity can break down all barriers of race and religion. Perhaps the strongest instance is in the Second Crusade, where the Abbot of St. Denis must be left to tell his story in his own words (Book VII., *ad fin.*). Thousands of Crusaders, betrayed (he says) by the Greeks into a space where they were penned like sheep, were slaughtered helplessly by Turkish arrows; only a remnant escaped. But then "the Turkish thirst was quenched in the blood of those [fallen thousands]; and, thenceforward, they gave liberal alms to the sick and the destitute. The Greeks, indeed, compelled the stronger of them into their own service, where they gave them only stripes for wages. But some of the Turks bought our money from their fellows, and divided them by handfuls among the poor; while the Greeks were robbing all who still had a little left. So the Crusaders, avoiding these cruel allies, went securely among those compassionate infidels; and, as we have been told, more than 3,000 of the younger soldiers accompanied the Turks when they departed. O pity more cruel than any treachery! For the enemy gave them bread, and took away their faith! Though, indeed, it is certain that they compelled no man to deny his religion, but

contented themselves with making their prisoners serve them." Reading here between the lines, we see how the most ordinary human intercourse acted as a gradual solvent, if not of essential religion, at least of that fierce exclusive faith which had been the mainspring of Crusading energy. So, again, with Marco Polo, who spent all the business years of his life in China, where all creeds were tolerated, and "all people of what faith or sect soever, whether Christians or Jews, Saracens or Tartars, and Pagans, are bound solemnly to call upon their gods for the life, safety, and prosperity of the Great Khan." We have evidence that, whenever some fresh army of Crusaders landed in Palestine, their first impression was one of dismay to find how easily their predecessors, now settled as traders or colonists, were fraternizing with their Muslim neighbours.

Again, whereas each party began these wars in the conviction that the cause was holy, that God must bless it, and that victory would display God's approval of themselves and His strict judgment upon their enemies, yet this easy initial faith was constantly dashed to the ground by military failures. We have seen already, in Chap. vii., how, while St. Louis lay in an Eastern prison, men in France were saying to each other: "Mohammed is stronger than Christ, nowadays." We saw, earlier still, how the Crusaders of the First Crusade began to doubt of Christ when they fell into adversity. And Joinville tells us how the Saracens, for their part, looked upon religious faith as a thing which naturally waxed or waned according to victory or defeat. "They said that, if Mohammed had suffered such mischief to be done to them as had been done to King Louis, they would never have kept their belief in him." In every way, deeds are the final test of sincerity; and many beliefs break down under this last acid test. At the storming of Acre, in 1291, when the Saracens were filling the moats with sandbags to make a road for the storming parties, many fakirs cast their own bodies in, that their army might march over them to victory. Similar devotion, no

doubt, might sometimes have been found on the Christian side; yet Joinville gives us an instructive picture from another point of view. In the last disastrous battle, when surrender seemed the only course, "a cellarer of mine, who was born at Doulerant, said: 'Sire, I accord not with that counsel.' I asked him what he himself would counsel; and he said: 'I advise that we all let ourselves be slain; thus we shall all go to Paradise.' But we did not heed him."

Such experiences, such vicissitudes, such constant reminders of frailty and fallibility that were borne in upon honest souls, and the equally frequent discovery of good in the enemy's soul, did much to modify Western thought. It was probably in Palestine, and certainly in the thick of the Crusades, that the famous apologue was composed upon which Lessing has founded his drama of *Nathan the Wise*. A man had a magic ring, whose virtue was that whoever wore it attracted inevitably the affection of all who knew him. He had three sons, all equally dear to him; so that to each, at different times, he had promised to bequeath this ring. Therefore, towards the end of his life, he set a cunning goldsmith to make two others, outwardly indistinguishable from the original. The father died; each son claimed to possess the sacred talisman; and the three brothers were soon involved in what seemed an irreconcilable dispute. But a wise old Jew, appealed to as umpire, suggested an accord by common sense. The talisman commands all men's love; therefore, whoever else may happen to possess the true ring, he who quarrels with his fellows for precedence must certainly be wearing the false one. The story was first told, so far as we know, in the *entourage* of Frederick II.; and, from the first, men understood that the three rival sons were Christian and Jew and Mohammedan.

We must not take leave of the Crusades without noting how the idea of proselytism by persuasion grew out of this failure of proselytism by conquest. St. Francis

THE ANGEL GABRIEL APPEARING TO MOHAMMED.

(*F. R. Martin: Miniature Painting* (1912), i. 24; *from a manuscript dated 1314 in the University of Edinburgh.*)

went to Palestine in 1219 to convert the Sultan, who treated him courteously even though he was then at open war with the Christians. Franciscans gradually settled in most of the towns of Syria so long as the Christians held them.[1] But the most remarkable figure in this connection is Raymond Lull (1235–1314), who, while other writers were propounding different schemes for the reconquest of Palestine by force, devoted his life to the idea of conversion by word. The son of a Catalan nobleman, gay and self-indulgent, he was suddenly converted, left his money to his wife and the poor, and set to work to learn Arabic. He compiled works destined to prove scientifically, by irrefragable logic, the truth of Christianity; he went from country to country in the attempt to enlist popes, cardinals, and princes in his projects; and it was probably through him that the Council of Vienne (1311) decreed that chairs of Oriental languages should be founded at six European universities; a decree which was only partially obeyed. Three times he himself faced the labours and perils of a missionary life among the Mohammedans. In 1291 he began his propaganda at Tunis, but was banished. In 1306 he tried again at Bugia, arguing publicly with the priest of a mosque: the crowd wished to stone him; the magistrates cast him into prison for six months, and then sent him by ship to Pisa. In 1314 he returned, disguised as an Arab; but he was very soon recognized and stoned to death. For it was impossible that the ideal of peaceful persuasion should become dominant so long as both sides were so ready to appeal to force. There was more or less desultory fighting all through the Middle Ages and beyond; and the recovery of Jerusalem by arms was preached not only by pamphleteers but in stage-play. Charles V. of France, in 1378, entertained the Emperor Charles IV. at a great Twelfth-night feast; there were thirty courses of viands and two "entremets," or dramatic interludes. These are thus described by a contemporary in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. "The story and the ordinance

of these interludes was how Godfrey of Bouillon conquered the holy city of Jerusalem. And the king had his own purpose in commanding this story, since he felt that no more notable deed than this could be recalled or exemplified in the presence of men who had no superiors in Christendom, nor any who could better do and undertake the like deed for God's service, or were better bound in duty to do so. And, better to figure this matter, and to show it for the more plainly, men wrought as follows. At the end of the great palace hall, which was shut in so that no man might look in from without, there was a ship properly fashioned like a sea-ship, garnished with mast and sails and fore-castle and hinder-castle, and all other gear and ordinance appertaining to a seafaring vessel; and it was most richly and pleasantly painted and adorned. And within it was manned with folk in the semblance of fair armour; their coats and shields and banners blazoned with the arms borne by Godfrey of Boulogne; and they were twelve in number, bearing the arms of the most noble chieftains who were with Godfrey at the conquest of Jerusalem. And in front, on the prow of this ship, stood Peter the Hermit, arrayed and represented as near as might be after the fashion that men tell us in history." This ship was brought round the hall by men concealed under its trappings, and placed on one side of the royal dais. "And, after this, came an interlude in the fashion and semblance of the city of Jerusalem, with as fair a counterfeit of the Temple as space would permit, wherein was a tall tower beside the Temple, such as those wherefrom the Saracens are wont to cry aloud their own law. There was a man most properly attired like a Saracen, who cried the law in the Arab tongue after the Saracen fashion; and this tower was so lofty that this man came very near to the rafters of the great hall. And below, all round this city, the walls and battlements were garnished with Saracens armed after their own fashion, bearing banners and pennons and standing in warlike array to defend the city. Thus it

was brought in by men who were inside, covered so that no man might see them, unto the right-hand side of the aforesaid dais. Then the two interludes fought one against the other, and those in the ship came forth, and marched in fair array to assault that city, and fought long time against it; and there was fair sport of those who mounted by ladders to the assault. At length these assailants mounted up and conquered this city, and cast the Saracens forth, and planted there the banners of Godfrey and his fellows. And the thing was done more properly, and fairer to the sight, than I can set forth in writing." Many little things of this kind might be quoted to illustrate what may be called the afterglow of a great movement whose sun had set.

Enough has been said to show how much the Crusades, with other points of contact between Christendom and heathen populations, must have contributed to the breakdown of the mediæval assumption that there is only one code of religious truth, and that civilized society must necessarily rest upon conformity to this code, voluntary if possible, but compulsory if need be. Those irreconcilable differences of opinion, which broke out in the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation, had been partly nourished by such experiences and colloquies and comparisons as we may find in Joinville and other chroniclers of the great religious wars.

No full estimate of the religious and moral balance-sheet of the Crusades is possible in this place. Some writers extol the movement among the glories of mediæval Christianity; others would condemn it as one of the darkest pages in Christian history: this contrast of opposite judgments is due to fundamentally opposite conceptions of moral values, which it would take a volume to discuss. On the one hand, a modern historian paints a picture which, within its limits, is undeniably true: "Very few of those who set out ever reached Syria [by land]. Thus there was a frightful wastage of men along the road to the Holy Land, especially in the twelfth century. . . . The Crusaders' victories had

little lasting result ; the conquerors returned to Europe, leaving a free field to the Mussulmans. . . . The Crusaders were only tools ; the true founders of the Christian kingdoms were the adventurers and merchants who, like modern emigrants, set out to establish themselves in the East." [1] But equally important is the contrary reminder that these expeditions have " been the exemplar in later times of many movements undertaken on a smaller scale indeed, and using the weapons of reason rather than of war. . . . The memory of the failure in which the Crusades ended has only served to heighten the value of the ideal which created them. . . . Our modern use of the word ' Crusade ' is, in fact, a testimony of our belief in the effectiveness of action possible where large groups of men share a common ideal." [2] And, while some may contrast the Crusades with Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount, others may remind us that all civilization must be ready, if need be, to meet forcible attack by forcible defence, and that one way of stating the question in this matter is to ask ourselves : " How far may the Crusades be counted as defensive wars, and how far is it due to them that Mohammedan arms and Mohammedan ideas and institutions were not carried over the whole of Europe ? " Here again we may listen to John Stuart Mill, who wrote with reference to the cruel Civil War then raging in the United States between North and South : " War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things ; the decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing worth a war, is worse." And again : " Though I think it an effect of the progress of improvement to put an end to war, I regard war as an infinitely less evil than systematic submission to injustice."

[1] Lavisse and Rambaud, *Hist. Générale*, Vol. II., p. 342.
[2] *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. V., p. 333.

CHAPTER XIII

COMMERCE AND ADVENTURE

In mediæval history these two subjects are inseparable. And here, as in almost every other field, we must begin by noting the influence of the Church. For, although the history of these centuries shows the impossibility of realizing in that rudimentary state of society, and perhaps in any state of society, the mediæval dream of one Church supreme over the whole world and over all men's actions in the world, yet those same centuries testify equally plainly to the part which this ideal played in stimulating and consolidating peoples whose ancestors had lived comparatively selfish and detached and undisciplined lives in the great forests or swamps of central and northern Europe. The two greatest sea-adventurers recorded in early British history plunged finally into the great spiritual adventure of their time, the strict monastic life.

Saewulf was a merchant who chose for his confessor the saintly Bishop of Worcester, Wulfstan. The bishop tried to convert him; Saewulf shrank from taking the vows; Wulfstan prophesied that he would do so before he died. Six years after Wulfstan's death, Saewulf undertook a penitent pilgrimage to Jerusalem, deliberately choosing the most adventurous route, as one "conscious of his own unworthiness." He was wrecked near Bari; when he started again, it took him thirteen weeks to reach Jaffa. Here he landed at once; next

day a hurricane destroyed, before his eyes, 23 of the 30 great ships in the harbour. He saw and worshipped at all the holy places; then, through many dangers from Mohammedan fleets and pirates, he reached Constantinople safely after a voyage of four months from Jaffa. Some years later we find him a monk at Malmesbury.

A still more interesting Englishman affords an example of merchant adventure and pilgrim adventure in these early days. He, like Saewulf, owes his enduring fame to his connection with the Church; for he became a saint, and found a loving monastic biographer. At Finchale, near Durham, there died in 1170 a hermit who had lived very many years, perhaps as many as forty, in fasting, cold, and prayer. One of the Durham monks took every opportunity of haunting his company, and jotted down many of his words and many particulars of his life on the evenings, as he assures us, of the very days on which he had heard them. The main autobiographical passages concerning his merchant-life will speak for themselves.

"This holy man's father was named Ailward, and his mother Edwenna; both of slender rank and wealth, but abundant in righteousness and virtue. They were born in Norfolk, and had long lived in the township called Walpole. . . . When the boy had passed his childish years quietly at home, then, as he began to grow to manhood, he began to follow more prudent ways of life, and to learn carefully and persistently the teachings of worldly forethought. Wherefore he chose not to follow the life of a husbandman, but rather to study, learn, and exercise the rudiments of more subtle conceptions. For this reason, aspiring to the merchant's trade, he began to follow the chapman's way of life, first learning how to gain in small bargains and things of insignificant price; and thence, while yet a youth, his mind advanced little by little to buy and sell and gain from things of greater expense. For, in his beginnings, he was wont to wander with small wares around the

villages and farmsteads of his own neighbourhood; but, in process of time, he gradually associated himself by compact with city merchants. Hence, within a brief space of time, the youth who had trudged for many weary hours from village to village, from farm to farm, did so profit by his increase of age and wisdom as to travel with associates of his own age through towns and boroughs, fortresses and cities, to fairs and to all the various booths of the market-place, in pursuit of his public chaffer. He went along the highway, neither puffed up by the good testimony of his conscience nor downcast in the nobler part of his soul by the reproach of poverty. . . .

"At first, he lived as a chapman for four years in Lincolnshire, going on foot and carrying the smallest wares; then he travelled abroad, first to St. Andrews in Scotland and then for the first time to Rome. On his return, having formed a familiar friendship with certain other young men who were eager for merchandise, he began to launch upon bolder courses, and to coast frequently by sea to the foreign lands that lay around him. Thus, sailing often to and fro between Scotland and Britain, he traded in many divers wares and, amid these occupations, learned much worldly wisdom. . . . He fell into many perils of the sea, yet by God's mercy he was never wrecked; for He who had upheld St. Peter as he walked upon the waves, by that same strong right arm kept this His chosen vessel from all misfortune amid these perils. Thus, having learned by frequent experience his wretchedness amid such dangers, he began to worship certain of the saints with more ardent zeal, venerating and calling upon their shrines, and giving himself up by whole-hearted service to those holy names. In such invocations his prayers were oftentimes answered by prompt consolation; some of which prayers he learned from his fellows with whom he shared these frequent perils; others he collected from faithful hearsay; others again from the custom of the place, for he saw and visited such holy places with frequent

assiduity. Thus aspiring ever higher and higher, and yearning upward with his whole heart, at length his great labours and cares bore much fruit of worldly gain. For he laboured not only as a merchant but also as a shipman . . . to Denmark and Flanders and Scotland; in all which lands he found certain rare, and therefore more precious, wares, which he carried to other parts wherein he knew them to be least familiar, and coveted by the inhabitants beyond the price of gold itself; wherefore he exchanged these wares for others coveted by men of other lands; and thus he chaffered most freely and assiduously. Hence he made great profit in all his bargains, and gathered much wealth in the sweat of his brow; for he sold dear in one place the wares which he had bought elsewhere at a small price.

"Then he purchased the half of a merchant ship with certain of his partners in the trade; and again by his prudence he bought the fourth part of another ship. At length, by his skill in navigation, wherein he excelled all his fellows, he earned promotion to the post of steersman. . . . For he was vigorous and strenuous in mind, whole of limb and strong in body. He was of middle stature, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, with a long face, grey eyes most clear and piercing, bushy brows, a broad forehead, long and open nostrils, a nose of comely curve, and a pointed chin. His beard was thick, and longer than the ordinary, his mouth well shaped, with lips of moderate thickness; in youth his hair was black, in age as white as snow; his neck was short and thick, knotted with veins and sinews; his legs were somewhat slender, his instep high, his knees hardened and horny with frequent kneeling; his whole skin rough beyond the ordinary, until all this roughness was softened by old age. . . . In labour he was strenuous, assiduous above all men; and, when by chance his bodily strength proved insufficient, he compassed his ends with great ease by the skill which his daily labours had given, and by a prudence born of long experience. . . . He knew, from the aspect of sea and stars, how

to foretell fair or foul weather. In his various voyages he visited many saints' shrines, to whose protection he was wont most devoutly to commend himself; more especially the church of St. Andrew in Scotland, where he most frequently made and paid his vows. On the way thither, he oftentimes touched at the island of Lindisfarne, wherein St. Cuthbert had been bishop, and at the island of Farne, where that saint had lived as an anchorite, and where St. Godric (as he himself would tell afterwards) would meditate on the saint's life with abundant tears. Thence he began to yearn for solitude, and to hold his merchandise in less esteem than heretofore. . . . And now he had lived sixteen years as a merchant, and began to think of spending on charity, to God's honour and service, the goods which he had so laboriously acquired. He therefore took the cross as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, and, having visited the Holy Sepulchre, came back to England by way of St. James [of Compostella]."

Here, then, is an English merchant-adventurer, splendidly endowed by Nature for his job, but restricted by the smallness of his ship and the simple navigation of those days. His limits were "Denmark and Flanders and Scotland"; to Rome and Jerusalem and Compostella he went by the ordinary pilgrims' ways, like any other man. Even Chaucer's shipman of two centuries later, that weather-beaten master of his trade, knew only from Jutland to Cape Finisterre in Portugal; or, possibly, even the less distant Finistère in France. For the great adventurers of the Middle Ages we must go to Italy and Flanders, where commerce and manufactures were incomparably more developed than in Britain. It was through travellers from those countries, whether for religion or for gain, that the Far East became better known between 1250 and 1350 than at any other period until after the Reformation. And the pioneers of this movement were Franciscan friars.

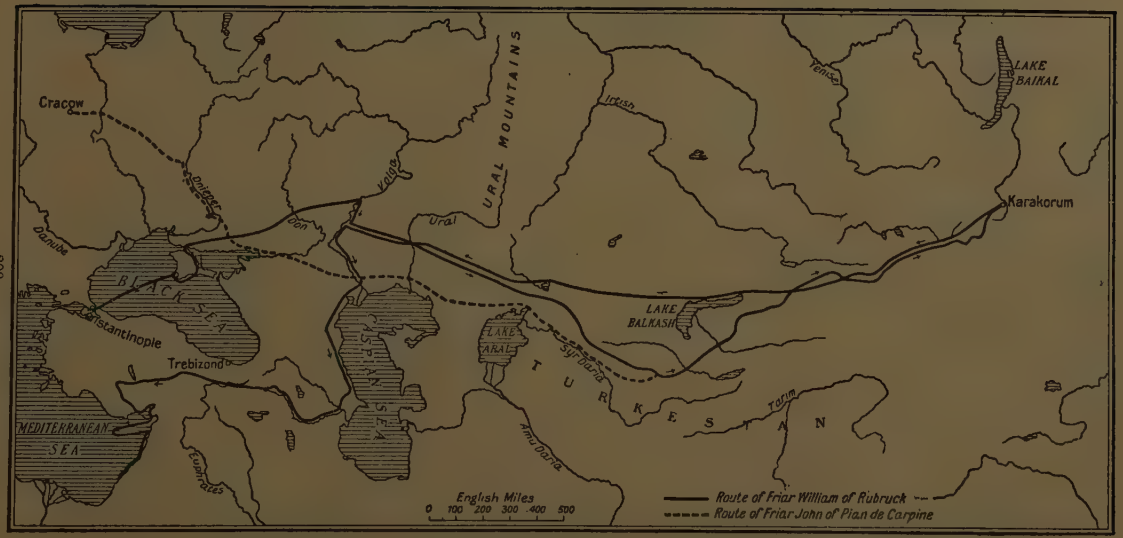
The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light, yet this wisdom is often shown

rather in imitation than in originality. A stimulating German economist of to-day, Werner Sombart, has traced in detail the extent to which modern industry, with its wholesale manufactures and its wholesale methods of distribution, is indebted to the double stimulus of war and luxury; the warrior or the noble creating the demand, and industry answering obediently with the required supply. We have seen how the Crusades, predominantly a religious movement, mobilized the Mediterranean fleets, set a far higher price on nautical assistance and nautical ingenuity, and opened out great markets to the shipman-trader. So also, in that great land adventure across Central Asia, it was the friar who showed the way to the merchant.

In those early days, to become a friar was in itself a great adventure; for it meant real abandonment of what most men seek in the world, money and a family. It meant more also than this negative resolve; it meant constant missionary activity; charity even towards the uncharitable, patience under the rudest rebuffs and the most bitter disappointments. And, although the rapid growth of the four Orders of friars diluted this original element with a good deal that was commonplace or even self-seeking; although even those who made the sacrifice during St. Francis's own lifetime often settled down, year after year, into something far less romantic and uncomfortable than their enthusiastic youth had welcomed, yet, for many generations after, the friar was a man who took the missionary side of Christianity, with its necessary concomitant of self-denial, far more seriously than the ordinary citizen or even than the ordinary parish priest. And, in the early days, this great movement attracted the young very much as the ship has always attracted them; boys sometimes ran away from home to the friary as they have run away from home to sea. Salimbene, the son of a Parmese noble, has told us his own story in his autobiography. In 1238, when he had barely turned sixteen, he slipped

away after supper from his father's house at Parma to the Franciscan friary about three hundred yards distant, and was admitted that same evening, as a novice, by the minister general, who happened to be there. His father, who knew the Emperor personally, moved heaven and earth to recover his son, but only succeeded so far that the boy might return to his home if he himself wished it. Salimbene did not wish; and a painful interview ended in a passionate outburst from his father. "Despairing of my return to my home, he cast himself upon the ground in the sight of the brethren and of the lay folk who had come with him, and cried: 'I commit thee to a thousand devils, accursed son, together with thy brother who is here with thee, and who also hath helped to entice thee [to this place]. May my curse cleave unto thee through all eternity, and send thee to the devils of hell!' And so he departed, troubled beyond measure; but we remained in great consolation, giving thanks unto God, and saying, 'Though they curse, yet bless Thou.'"

A friar, especially in those stirring times before the first generation of enthusiasts had all gone to their graves, might see a great deal of the world in the course of his training and his work; and Salimbene, with his noble connections and quick wit and pleasant manners, was evidently fortunate here beyond the average. In the first eleven years, between sixteen and twenty-seven, he mentions thirty-six different abodes in Italy and France, where he came as far north as Paris; and, in the latter and more sedentary half of his life, he changed his domicile twelve times more. These journeys brought him into contact with some of the most notable men of the day: the Emperor Frederick II., his great enemy Pope Innocent IV., several saints who worked miracles in life and in death, and other men of great literary or musical reputation. Among these was Friar John of Piano Carpini, whom Salimbene met twice in 1248, first on his outward journey and then "on his way home from the King [of France], to whom the Pope had sent


Cracow
Dniester
Danube
Don
Volga
Ural
URAL MOUNTAINS
Irtish
Yenisei
LAKE BAIKAL
Karakorum
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Trebizond
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Euphrates
CASPIAN SEA
LAKE ARAL
LAKE BALKASH
Syr Daria
Amu Daria
Turan
TURKESTAN
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Route of Friar William of Rubruck
Route of Friar John of Plan de Carpine

him ; and he had his book which the brethren read in his presence ; and he himself interpreted whatsoever seemed obscure and difficult to understand or believe. And I ate with him, not only in our friary but outside in abbeys and places of dignity ; and not once or twice only, for he was gladly invited both to dine and to sup, partly as the Pope's Legate, partly as ambassador to the king, partly because he had come from the Tartars, and partly also because he was a friar minor, and all men believed him a man of most holy life." Such in fact he was. Like Salimbene, he was of noble birth ; he had thrice held the post of minister provincial in his Order, was a papal penitentiary, and went at Innocent IV.'s command, in 1245, as a missionary to the Tartars. On his return, the Pope made him Archbishop of Antivari in Dalmatia, where he died perhaps within a few months, certainly in less than four years ; he must have been at least forty-five, and more probably fifty-five or more, when he started on this great journey. Salimbene characterizes him again as " a man of pleasant manners and spiritual and learned, and most ready of speech, and expert in many things." Moreover, by good fortune his book has come down to us ; the very book which Salimbene and the brethren heard him expound in 1248.

It was a rule with the friars—Dante alludes to it—that no brother should ever go alone ; always two and two at least. On this mission, the Pope gave John two Franciscan companions, Benedict of Poland, who stuck to him all through, and Stephen of Bohemia, who turned back at Kieff. From the very first, we find that John's main business is religious rather in the mediæval political sense than in the sense of St. Paul ; we hear very little of attempts to explain Christianity to individual heathens, but much of the hope that rulers in the Far East may make treaties with, or even acknowledge the supremacy of, the Pope. In his prologue, he wishes the Pope " a glorious triumph over his enemies," and continues : " We chose to travel first into the land of the

Tartars, since we feared lest the Church of God might be in near and imminent danger from them. And, although we feared to be slain by the Tartars or other folk, or to be cast into perpetual captivity, or to be afflicted with hunger and thirst, heat and cold, contumely and exceeding travail beyond our strength—all of which things, save death and captivity, did indeed fall upon even us beyond our expectation—yet we did not spare ourselves, in order that we might fulfil God's will according to the Lord Pope's command, and in order that we might be of some profit to Christendom, by learning the truth of the Tartars' will and intentions and revealing these to the Christians, lest by chance they should fall upon us and find us unprepared, as formerly came to pass in punishment of men's sins, when they wrought great slaughter in Christendom."

They started through Poland (where Benedict, "our companion and interpreter," had kinsfolk), and Russia, for which country he was able to procure introductory letters. Perhaps it was here that Benedict's interpretership ended, or perhaps he knew something also of Oriental tongues. On the way, at Danilov in Ukraine, John became "feeble even unto death,"[1] but was carried "in a wagon through the snow and extreme cold to Kieff." Here they hired native horses, being warned that no others "knew how to dig up the grass under the snow as the Tartarian horses do, neither could there be aught found for them to eat, the Tartars having neither hay nor straw nor any other fodder." At their next stage they found the governor "a man full of all malice and despite"; for here, and everywhere, they had no gifts of any great value for the natives, who therefore naturally doubted the rank and power of the prince whose envoys they were. It was just after Ash Wednesday when they first came to the land of the Tartars, in southern Russia, and announced their errand: "We are the Legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father

[1] In most cases I quote from the racy translation published by Hakluyt in 1598, with emendations where necessary.

A TARTAR ARCHER.

and lord of the Christians. He hath sent us as well unto your Emperor as to your princes and all other Tartars for this purpose; because it is his pleasure that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should have peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great in the eyes of God in heaven; therefore he admonisheth them, as well by us as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, because they could not otherwise be saved." The magistrate passed them on to the court of Corrensa, the governor who guarded their frontier with 60,000 men. Before entering his tent, they were warned against touching the threshold, since, "whosoever treads upon the threshold of any of their dukes' tabernacles, he is put to death." Corrensa passed them on to Bati, mightiest of all Tartar princes except the Great Khan, who had made himself a kingdom and founded on the Volga, in 1225, a great capital of the primitive nomad sort, with "great fair linen tents," his own royal pavilions having been taken in war from the King of Hungary. Before admission to his court, they had to pass between two fires to destroy whatever magic or poison they might bring; then they presented the papal letters, which, with the aid of interpreters, they translated into the Russian, Tartar, and "Saracen" tongues. Bati, after some days for reflection, commanded that the friars should be sent under escort to the Great Khan, Kuyuk, grandson of Chingiz Khan. So, "upon Easter Day [April 7, 1246], having said our prayers and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars which were assigned unto us by Corrensa, we departed with many tears, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in body that we were scarce able to ride. For, all that Lent through, our meat was millet only, with a little water and salt; and so likewise upon other fasting days; neither had we aught to drink but snow melted in a cauldron." They rode hard, with five changes of horses a day. They rode to the north of

Circassia, and over the steppes of Central Asia, "a land full of mountains, and cold beyond measure," for they met a violent snowstorm on the 28th of June. At last on July 22, they arrived at Kuyuk's court. He treated them courteously, and they had the interest of seeing his formal election and enthronization as Emperor, for they came just at that moment. John found him "very wise and politic, and passing serious and grave in all his demeanour; a rare thing it was for a man to see him laugh or behave himself lightly." He had some Christians in his retinue, and a chapel near his tent where they worshipped according to the Greek rite. These men told John that the Khan himself was purposed to become Christian; but one traveller presently found him resolved to "erect a flag of defiance against the Church of God and the Roman Empire and against all Christian nations and kingdoms of the West." John was kept about the court a short time, long enough to admire the multitude of ambassadors and the rich presents they brought; "more than 500 carts which were all full of silver and gold and silk garments;" and one single governor of a province who offered a flock of camels covered with brocades of Bagdad. Kuyuk sent the friars away for a while, and then called them back; "with whom we continued for the space of one whole month in such extreme hunger and thirst that we could scarce hold life and soul together. For the provision allowed us for four days was scantly sufficient for one day; neither could we buy us any sustenance, because the market was too far off. Howbeit the Lord [God] provided for us a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who, being greatly in the Emperor's favour, procured us some sustentation."[1] Then, through the scribes of his chancery, Kuyuk composed letters for the Pope. One copy was written by John himself, who translated into Latin the clauses

[1] Both the other Franciscans, Rubrouck and Odoric, bring out this same contrast between Tartar frugality and Western habits. Even these friars, professional ascetics, look upon Tartar food as starvation diet.

dictated to him by the Tartar officials, and then re-translated them by word of mouth for comparison and correction; another copy was written in the "Saracen" tongue, for the Pope to have interpreted when he should receive it. He purposed also to send ambassadors of his own to the Pope, in company with the friars. "Howbeit we thought it expedient for us that they should not go; and that for divers causes. First, because we feared lest they, seeing the dissensions and wars which are among us, should be the more encouraged to make war against us.[1] Secondly, we feared that they would be as spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slain by the way; for our nations be arrogant and proud. For when those servants which were with us, at the request of the Cardinal Legate in Germany [Hugues de St. Cher], went to him at his request in the Tartars' attire, they were almost stoned by the Germans on the way, and were compelled to put off those garments; and it is the Tartars' custom never to be reconciled with such as have slain their ambassadors, till they have revenged themselves."

Therefore the two friars went off with nothing but the Emperor's passport and their Tartar escort. "We travelled all winter long, lying in the deserts oftentimes upon the snow, except with our feet we made a piece of ground bare to lie upon. For there were no trees, but plain champaign field, and oftentimes, in the morning, we found ourselves all covered with snow driven over us by the wind." On the 9th of May they were again at Bati's court; he passed them on with a safe-conduct to Correnса, who sent them under escort to Kieff. Here "the citizens, having intelligence of our approach, came forth all of them to meet us, with great joy; for they rejoiced over us as over men that had been risen from death to life. So likewise did they unto us throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia." The Duke of

[1] Among others, the wars between the Papacy and Empire were now at their height.

A TARTAR WARRIOR.

Russia and his brother made them a royal feast, promised to " hold the Pope for their special lord and father, and the Church of Rome for their lady and mistress . . . and for the same purpose, they sent ambassadors, and letters by us also, unto our Lord the Pope."

CHAPTER XIV

A SECOND FRIAR

JOHN, as we have seen, was sent by the Pope to visit St. Louis at Paris in 1248; and, in December of that year, there came another stimulus to Eastern travel. Messengers came representing themselves as envoys from Ilchikadai, the Tartar Governor of Persia and Armenia, and giving the king hopes of their master's conversion. Louis therefore sent a party of whom the principal was a Franciscan, Andrew of Longjumeau, bearing letters and presents both to Ilchikadai and to the Great Khan. They reached the court in the winter of 1249–50, found that there was no Khan then on the throne, and returned with letters from the Mother-Regent so arrogant that the king, says Joinville, "repented sore of having sent to her." Presently, however, Louis heard that Sartach, son of the Tartar prince Bati, was a Christian, and determined to send envoys to him. Only, taught by that rebuff, he avoided giving the same official character to this second mission. Here was, naturally, a great disadvantage for the envoy; indeed, as his concluding words emphasize, it was a far greater disadvantage to him among these Tartars than either St. Louis or he could at first have realized.

This chosen envoy was William, a Franciscan, whom the manuscripts call Rubruquis because he took his name from Rubrouck in French Flanders. This William of Rubrouck had probably met John of Piano Carpini at

Paris in 1248, and had seen that other friar, Andrew of Longjumeau, start on his mission, and return in 1251. He himself started with letters from St. Louis on a similar mission, leaving Constantinople on May 7, 1253. From him, again, we have a very valuable story, longer than John's, and even more entertaining; his personal sufferings were no less. His companion was Brother Bartholomew of Cremona; they had three others with them; a cleric named Goset, an interpreter, and a servant; for this party they had six carts, with bedding, provisions, and biscuit and wine for a present to great men. They sailed up the Black Sea to Kherson, and thence to Sudak, which they reached on the 21st of May; three days later, they found themselves on Tartar territory. "And being come among this barbarous people, methought I was entered into a new world; for they came flocking about us on horseback, after they had made us a long time to await for them sitting in the shadow, under their black carts. They began impudently to beg our victuals from us. And we gave them some of our biscuit and wine; and, having drunk off one gallon of wine, they demanded another, saying that a man goeth not into the house with one foot. Howbeit we gave them no more, excusing ourselves that we had but a little." At last they furthered the party on their journey; but, before the final parting "they made us to await a long while, begging our bread for their young brats, wondering at all things which they saw about our servants, as their knives, gloves, purses, and belts, and desiring to have them. I excused myself, that we had a long way to travel, and that we must in no wise deprive ourselves of things necessary to finish so long a journey. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they took nothing by force from me; howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunately and shamelessly; and if a man bestow aught upon them, it is but lost cost, for they are thankless wretches. They esteem themselves lords, and think that nothing should be denied them by any man." They journeyed on until they

came to a considerable governor, kinsman to Bati. On hearing that Rubrouck had letters from St. Louis to Bati's son, Sartach, "he asked what words we would deliver unto Sartach. I answered, the words of Christian faith. He asked again what those words were, for he was very desirous to hear them. Then I expounded to him, as well as I could by mine interpreter (who had no wit or any utterance of speech), the Apostles' Creed. Which, after he had heard, holding his peace, he shook his head." A little later on their journey (June 7, Whitsunday) "there came unto us a certain Saracen unto whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Christian faith." He agreed to be baptized: "but, when we prepared ourselves for the baptizing of him, he suddenly mounted on horseback, saying that he would go home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And, on the morrow after, he told us that he durst in no case receive baptism, because then he should drink no more koumiss.[1] For the Christians of that place affirm that no true Christians ought to drink thereof, and that without the said liquor he could not live in the desert. From which opinion I could not for my life remove him." This is, I think, the only conversion which Rubrouck records. The three Tartar servants who had been given for their escort insisted on sharing their victuals, which began to run short. "But above all things it grieved me to the very heart that, when I would utter aught unto them which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: 'You shall not make me become a preacher now; I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse such words.' And true it was which he said; for I perceived afterward, when I began to have a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing he would say quite another, whatsoever came next unto his witless tongue's end. Then, seeing the danger I might incur in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved much

[1] Fermented mares' milk.

rather to hold my peace." About July 20, the travellers reached the Don, and crossed from Europe into Asia.

Thence they passed to the Volga, and, three days after crossing it, arrived at the court of Sartach, into whose tent the friars entered singing the anthem *Salve Regina*, and to whom they presented St. Louis's letters, with translations into Arabic and Syriac [July 31]. Though they had heard that this prince contemplated conversion, yet they left him without hope: "Whether he believes in Christ or no, I know not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian; yea, rather he seemeth to me to deride and scoff at Christians." From his court they went on to that of his father Bati, whose camp filled them with amazement, for it spread over three or four leagues. His subjects are "most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the damnable religion of Mohammed than any other nation whatsoever"; but Bati himself received them courteously. "There we stood, in our [Franciscan] habit, barefooted and bareheaded, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes; for indeed Friar John of Piano Carpini had been there before my coming; howbeit, because he was the Pope's messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned." Rubrouck was bidden to speak, but to kneel down first on both knees. "Then I, thinking of prayer unto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: 'Sire, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things do proceed, and who hath given you these earthly benefits, that it would please Him hereafter to make you partaker of His heavenly blessings; because the former without these are vain and unprofitable.' And I added further: 'Be it known unto you of a certainty that you shall not obtain the joys of heaven unless you become a Christian; for God saith: *Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.*' At these words he smiled moderately; but the other chiefs began to clap their hands and to deride us; and my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should have

received comfort in time of need, was himself abashed and utterly dashed out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said unto him: "I came unto your son, because we heard that he was become a Christian, and I brought unto him letters on behalf of my sovereign lord the King of France; and your son sent me hither unto you. The cause of my coming therefore is best known unto yourself." Bati decided that, since the friars demanded permission to stay in the country, this could not be granted without reference to the Emperor, who was now Mangu, grandson of Chingiz. Therefore the two friars and their interpreter must go on to Mangu, and "Goset, the clerk," return to Sartach; "and thus we were parted asunder with tears. . . . Then we rode on forward with Bati [Aug. 14, 1253], descending along by the bank of the Volga, for the space of five weeks together. Sometimes my brother friar was so extremely hungry that he would tell me, in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though he had never eaten anything in all his life before. There is a fair or market following the court of Bati at all times; but it was so far distant from us that we could not have recourse thereunto; for we were constrained to walk on foot for want of horses." At last, towards the middle of September, they were given in charge to a Tartar noble, who said, "'I am the man that must conduct you unto Mangu Khan; and we have thither a journey of four months long to travel; and there is such extreme cold in those parts that stones and trees do even rive asunder in regard thereof. Therefore I would wish you thoroughly to advise yourselves whether you be able to endure it or no.' Unto whom I answered: 'I hope by God's help that we shall be able to brook that which other men can endure'" [Sept. 16]. They provided themselves with sheepskin jackets, breeches, and buskins, and crossed the Ural River twelve days later, often changing horses twice or thrice a day, and sometimes travelling two or three days without seeing another soul. "Of twenty or thirty horses we had always the worst,

because we were strangers; for every one took their choice of the best horses before us. They provided me always of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent and heavy; but, whether he ambled a gentle pace or no, I durst not make any question; neither yet durst I complain, although he trotted full sore, but every man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon we were exceedingly troubled; for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people; and then we were constrained to beat and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments upon other empty horses; yea, and sometimes two of us to ride upon one horse. Of hunger and thirst, cold and weariness, there was no end. In the morning they used to give us a little millet to drink or sip. In the evening they bestowed flesh upon us, as namely, a shoulder and breast of ram's mutton, and every man a measured quantity of broth to drink. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broth, we were marvellously well refreshed, and it seemed to me a most pleasant and nourishing drink. Every Friday I remained fasting until night, without eating or drinking of aught; and, when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorrow, to eat flesh.[1] Sometimes we were fain to eat flesh half-sodden, or almost raw, and all for want of fuel to seethe it withal; especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our journey's end; because we could not then conveniently gather together the dung of horses or oxen; for other fuel found we but seldom, except perhaps a few thorns in some places. . . . In the beginning our guide highly disdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct such base fellows. Afterward, when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us on our way by the courts of rich nobles, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I carried a good interpreter with me, I should have had opportunity to have

[1] Friday, of course, is a fast day in the Roman Catholic Church, and at this time not only the clergy, but the civil magistrates, punished infractions of the rule.

done much good. . . . And they marvelled exceedingly that we would receive neither gold nor silver nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? for there had gone a report among them, that he was five hundred years old. . . . Concerning the ocean sea, they could not conceive of it, because it was without limits or banks." [1] About the 30th of November, beyond Lake Balkash, "here first did I see worshippers of idols; concerning whom, be it known unto your majesty that there be many sects of them in the east countries.[2] . . . The citizens of the foresaid city of Cailac had three idol temples; and I entered into two of them to behold their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I beheld a man having a cross painted with ink upon his hand, whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian; for he answered like a Christian unto all questions which I demanded of him. . . . I saw there behind a certain chest (which was unto them instead of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image having wings like unto the image of St. Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would bless somebody. . . . In their temples they place a chest long and broad like unto a table; and behind the said chest, towards the south, stands their principal idol, which I saw at Karakorum; and it was as big as we represent St. Christopher [in Europe]." Their priests sit on benches opposite each other, like monks in choir, "and there they read silently unto themselves, not uttering any voice at all. Whereupon, coming in amongst them at the time of their superstitious devotions, and finding them all sitting mute in manner aforesaid, I attempted divers ways to provoke them unto speech, and yet could not, by any means possible. They have with them also, whithersoever they go, a certain string with a hundred or two hundred nutshells there-

[1] According to most mediæval geographers the whole Southern Hemisphere was one vast ocean.

[2] *i.e.* Buddhists and Shamanists.

upon, much like to our rosary which we carry about with us. And they do always utter these words, *Om mani Hactani*, ' Thou God knowest,' as one of them expounded it unto me; and so often do they expect a reward at God's hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God." At a later date, " having seen many of their images, both great and small," Rubrouck was able to get a little theological discussion with Buddhist priests, as they sat round the temple porch in their sacred saffron-yellow vestments. But his report, interesting as it is, shows that they were a good deal at cross-purposes; therefore, though " desirous to have had some more conference with them, by reason that my interpreter was weary and not able to express my meaning, I was constrained to keep silence." On his farther journey, he was evidently glad to avoid crossing Tibet, a land inhabited by " men which were wont to eat the carcasses of their deceased parents, in order that, for pity's sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them but their own bowels. Howbeit of late they have left off this custom, because that thereby they became abominable and odious unto all other nations. Notwithstanding, unto this day they make fine cups of the skulls of their parents, to the end that, when they drink out of them, they may amidst all their jollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was told me by one that saw it." Beyond Tibet, is Great Cathay, or China, concerning which " I was credibly informed that, in the said country, there is one town having walls of silver, and bulwarks or towers of gold."

To this city of gold and silver Rubrouck never came himself. When he reached the Great Khan's court near Karakorum (Dec. 20), he had travelled some 5,000 miles on horseback, heavy and unwieldy as he was, over some of the roughest country in the world; and his hardships did not end here. He was cold and starved; even when he could get food, destitute Tartars came into his tent and claimed a share, so that " there

I found by experience how great a martyrdom it is to give charity when in poverty." Later, his toes were nearly frost-bitten, and he was compelled to wear shoes, in spite of the custom of his Order. His fellow-friar fell ill, and finally decided not to face the homeward journey. His interpreter was more incapable than ever; for he took to drink.

The Khan had four kinds of fermented liquors constantly on hand, especially "rice wine in long narrow-necked flagons; and I could not discern any difference between it and the best Auxerre wine,[1] save that it had not the perfume of wine." One day the Khan "held a great drinking bout; and I counted an hundred and five carts and ninety horses laden with fermented mares' milk" for himself and his guests. He had a slave, a cunning artificer taken in war, Master William of Paris, who made him a great silver tree with four silver lions at its roots, and a serpent twined round each of its four stems, and an angel at the summit with a trumpet to his mouth. From this tree, on great occasions, the angel blew a blast; and then there flowed grape wine, mead, mares' milk and rice wine, to suit every man's taste. In these conditions, the interpreter became altogether demoralized. Rubrouck struggled to translate the Creed and Paternoster for these Tartars; "but always, when I wished to teach them, my interpreter failed me." On the first interview with the Khan, "I tasted a little rice wine for reverence of him; but our interpreter (to our misfortune) stood by the butlers, who gave him much drink; and he was quickly drunk." Therefore, in the colloquy which followed and upon which so much hung, up to a certain point, "I understood my interpreter; but, further, I could not perceive any perfect sentence; whereby I easily found he was drunk, and Mangu Khan himself was drunk also, as I thought.[2] . . . Then, seeing the defect of my interpreter, I held my peace." One thing, however, he plainly understood;

[1] *i.e.* Chablis.

[2] Rubrouck is here fully borne out by native Oriental historians.

that Mangu, so far from doing homage to the King of France, thought it possible that he himself might find it worth while to fall upon the West and conquer it ; at this point our good friar found it difficult to control his indignation.

Rubrouck, says Yule truly, was inferior to Carpini as politician and diplomatist ; nor had he much success in the religious field. He can only boast six baptisms, and those were of children of European parents, captives here in Tartary. Yet he made more missionary efforts than his predecessor. In all these far Eastern districts there were a considerable number of Christians ; but these were mainly Nestorians, heretics even according to the Greek standard. These men were not only ignorant, but had also taken a good deal of pagan colour from their pagan surroundings ; in this way, however, they got a better welcome at the court than our plain-spoken friar, whom the native interpreters misreported at their first interview with him, telling their master " that I said he was an idolater, and kept not the commandments of God." But the man most in favour at this moment was " an Armenian monk, somewhat black and lean, clad with a rough hairy coat to the middle leg, having upon it a stole of black silk lined with vair, and girt with an iron girdle under his haircloth." Upon this monk our travellers were quartered ; but they found him to be a great impostor. He had been a hermit (he said) in Jerusalem, and God had thrice appeared to him with the command to come and convert the Great Khan ; here at Karakorum his lies and boastings had given him a predominant position. At this moment Mangu's second wife, the lady Cota, " was sick almost unto death ; and divination by lots of the idolaters could profit her nothing. Then Mangu sent unto the monk, demanding of him what might be done for her. And the monk indiscreetly answered that, if she were not cured, Mangu should cut off his head. Then, having made that answer, the monk called us, declaring the matter with tears, entreating

us to watch with him that night in prayer, which we did. And he had a certain root which is called *rhubarb*; and he cut it almost to powder, and put it in water, with a little crucifix which he had. . . . And he gave all sick persons of such water to drink, so that it could not be but their bowels should be griped with so bitter a potion, which alteration in their bodies they accounted a miracle. Then I told him, when he was about to prepare such water, that he should prepare some of that holy water which is made in the Church of Rome, which hath great power to expel devils; because I understood she was vexed of a devil. And, at his entreaty, we made him some holy water, and he mingled rhubarb, and put his crucifix all the whole night in the water to temper it. I said moreover that, if he were a priest, the Order of priesthood hath great power to expel devils. And he said it was very true; and yet he lied, because he had no Orders, nor knew any one letter, but was a weaver, as I understood after, in his country, when I returned." The lady "drank of the blessed water with rhubarb, and washed her breast [with it]. And the monk requested me to read a gospel over her; so I read the Passion of our Lord according to John. At length she was cheered, and found herself better [and gave rich presents]. Then she caused wine to be brought, and gave it the [Nestorian] priests to drink; and I must drink thrice from her hand, in honour of the Trinity. She began also to teach me the language, jesting with me because I was dumb, not having any interpreter." Next day "we went to the aforesaid lady, and we found her lusty and cheerful, and she still drank of the blessed water, and we read the Passion over her. And those miserable priests never taught her the Faith, nor advised her to be baptized; but I sat there mute, not able to speak anything; but she still taught me the language. And the priests never find fault with any kind of sorcery." The lady was cured in three days; the monk bought vestments and ornaments as if he were a bishop, and joined the Nestorians in superstitious

magical practices; yet, for the sake of presenting a united front, Rubrouck bore with him. "I honoured him as my bishop, because he could speak the language . . . we joined ourselves to his society for the honour of the cross. For we carried the cross aloft on a staff through all the tents, singing that hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*[1]; whereupon the Saracens were much dismayed."

Mangu, very reasonably, resolved to seize the occasion for presiding at a disputation between Christians, Mohammedans, and Buddhists. He appointed three umpires, one from each religion, who proclaimed in his name "that none speak contentious or injurious words to other, nor make any tumult whereby this business might be hindered, upon pain of his head." Rubrouck spoke first, and insisted that the discussion must begin with the nature of God, to which the Buddhist answered: "Fools say there is but one God; but wise men say there be many." Rubrouck, who here had the Saracens on his side, met him with the text, "No man can serve two masters;" and he assures us that this reduced him to silence. Then the Nestorians would have disputed with the Saracens; but Rubrouck represents the latter as saying that they and Christians agreed upon essentials, so that discussion was superfluous. "All [of those present] hearkened without any contradiction; yet none of them said, 'I believe, and will become a Christian.' The conference ended, the Nestorians and Saracens sang together with a loud voice, the Buddhists holding their peace; and, after that, they all drank abundantly." Indeed, Rubrouck's whole experience at this court justifies his indignant judgment. Certainly, at every point our friar is equally impressed by the Tartars' fondness for drink and their indifference to dogma. Two at least of the Khan's wives "knew little or nothing of Christianity, but followed soothsayers and idolaters; yet, at our coming in, this

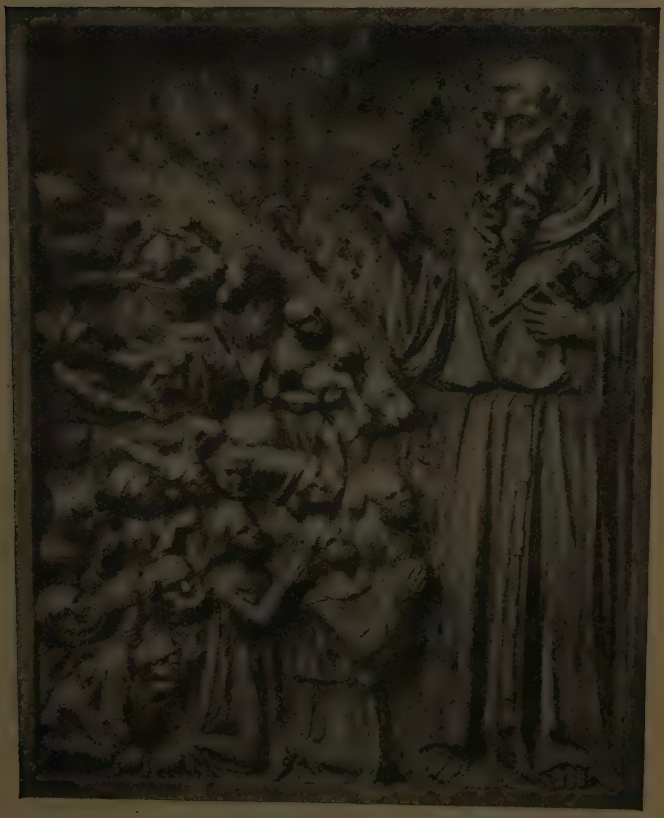
[1] "The royal banners forward go."

one worshipped the cross, as the Armenian monk and the Nestorian priests taught her. There also the priests drank again ; and from that place the monk and I returned to our oratory, which was near thereabouts ; the priests accompanying us with great howlings and outcries in their drunkenness, which there is reprehensible neither in man nor woman." Rubrouck's whole religious experience at that court is summed up in one indignant sentence : " This monk told me that Mangu only believes the Christians, yet will have all [the other religions] to pray for him ; but he lied ; for Mangu believeth none ; yet all follow his court, as flies do honey." And he ends his whole book with practical advice to Popes and Kings ; if they wish to produce any real effect, they must not send a mere friar like himself without formal letters of credit : for these heathen potentates, " seeing they had no other message but the office of preaching, they would care but little for them ; and chiefly, because they had no interpreter. . . . It seemeth not expedient that any friar go unto the Tartars any more, as I did, or as the Dominican friars do. But if our sovereign lord the Pope would honourably send a bishop, and answer their follies . . . he might speak unto them what he would . . . for they hear whatsoever an ambassador will speak, and always demand whether he will say any more. But he must have a good interpreter ; nay, many interpreters, and large expenses for travel." And, while trusting God, let Pope and King keep their powder dry ; there would be great chances of success for a crusade against unbelievers through Hungary. " I speak it confidently," he adds to King Louis, " if your mere peasants (I say not, kings and soldiers) would go as the kings of the Tartars go, and be contented with such victuals, they might win the whole world."

CHAPTER XV

FROM FRIAR TO MERCHANT

THE other Franciscan missionaries, important as they are, must here be briefly dismissed. Even more interesting to the geographer than Rubrouck, and in some ways even more entertaining, is Odoric of Pordenone in Friuli. This man started for the East at some time between 1316 and 1318, and returned in 1329 or early in 1330; three whole years he spent in China; he is therefore even more interesting to geographers than his predecessors. He took a very different route, and far easier to himself. He began with Trebizond, Erzeroum, Tabriz, and Sultanieh, at each of which, so great was the extension of his Order, he found Franciscan friaries. Thence he passed to the Persian Gulf, took ship at Hormuz, and landed near Bombay. Here he was able to dig up the bones of four Franciscan missionaries who had been martyred for their faith; he took these to China as relics. From Bombay he went on by ship to Malabar, Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, and possibly Borneo. The next certain points at which we find him are Cochin China and Canton; thence he travelled overland to Amoy (where he found two Franciscan friaries); thence to Fuchow, Hangchow, Nanking, and Peking. Here it was that he stayed three years, probably serving one of the churches which had been founded by John of Monte Corvino. On his way home he certainly entered Tibet, and possibly pushed as far as Lhasa;



ODORIC PREACHING TO THE HEATHEN.

thence by Northern Persia and Tabriz, and by the ordinary trade route home to Italy. Here he spent some time at the friary of Sant' Antonio at Padua, where he dictated the story of his travels to a fellow-friar [May 1330]. We next find him making for the Papal

court at Avignon ; but he sickened at Pisa and returned to die at Udine, the capital of his native province of Friuli, Jan. 14, 1331. His book, covering a far wider field than those of his predecessors, and therefore containing a larger collection of marvels, became proportionately more popular ; seventy-three MSS. have survived in Latin, Italian, and French. Moreover, his popularity as a traveller seems to have contributed more than anything else to create his exceptional reputation for sanctity. Though his own autobiography is extremely modest on the subject of mission work in the strict religious sense, he was posthumously credited with having baptized 20,000 heathen. The mayor of Udine deferred the burial of a man so illustrious for a day, during which the whole population pressed to kiss, or merely to touch, his feet or hands or beard or garments ; we are told that his corpse performed seventy miracles, including one resurrection from the dead. A year after his death, his marble sarcophagus was completed by a sculptor who, on one side, carved the friar preaching to the Tartars. He was steadily worshipped as a saint ; and at last, in 1755, he was formally beatified by Benedict XIV.

Before him, however, there had grown up a Chinese mission in the strictest religious sense. Another Franciscan, John of Monte Corvino, was sent by Pope Nicholas IV. with formal letters of commendation to the Great Khan and other potentates of the Far East. He reached China (mainly by sea) in 1292 or 1293 ; other friars were repeatedly sent to join him ; and he founded a Latin Christian community which had its centre at Peking. The Khan (Kublai's son) honoured him above all other religious men at his court ; and in 1307 the Pope created him archbishop, and sent seven bishops to join him ; only three of these persevered and actually joined John in Peking. There is a tradition that he even converted Kublai's grandson. Clement V. sent three more bishops to him in 1312 ; and he worked fruitfully until his death in 1328. A certain Nicholas

was appointed to succeed John; but it is not certain that he ever reached Peking. A petition of 1338 to Benedict XII. begged for a bishop or legate worthy to replace Corvino; and the Pope sent four Franciscans with a numerous escort; these reached China in 1342, set off homewards in 1346, and reappeared at Avignon in 1353. But with the revolution of 1368 began the Ming dynasty in China, which expelled all foreigners, whether missionaries or traders; and Chinese Christianity revived only with the Jesuit missions after the Reformation. Brave missionaries of the early fourteenth century penetrated to the wilder parts of Russia and Turkestan, but their self-sacrifice gained only temporary successes.

More interesting even than these friars is the merchant-traveller, Marco Polo, whose own book is so accessible and so easy to read that it may save us from long description here.

Two Venetian merchants, brothers, started in 1260 by the land route to the Far East; their names were Nicolo and Maffeo Polo. The journey took many years. Kublai Khan was now on the throne of China; he received the brethren warmly; for they had learned the Tartar language thoroughly, and were therefore able to tell him many things of interest about their own Western civilization. He decided finally to send them to the Pope, with letters asking for a hundred missionaries, of university education, who should be prepared to prove "that all idols are devilish things, and that the Christian law is better than theirs." They reached Europe in 1269, only to find that the Pope was dead. After waiting two years at Venice for a new Pope, they started eastward again, taking with them Marco, Nicolo's son, who was now turned fifteen or sixteen. On their way they learned of the election of Gregory X., and hurried back to receive his letters and two Dominican friars as missionaries (1271). The friars, on the news of wars in Armenia, turned back; but the two merchants and the boy took the letters and pressed on. They

went through Mosul and Bagdad, over the salt desert to Khorassan, thence up the Oxus valley and over the Pamirs, "the roof of the world," where Marco saw the great horned sheep now named after him, "ovis Poli," and where our travellers suffered much from the intense cold. At last they reached the Great Khan's court, after three and a half years' journey, in 1275.

We have seen how these business men had realized what the friars too often neglected, and had taken pains to master thoroughly the language of their hosts. As a pendant to Rubrouck and his incompetent interpreter struggling with theological disquisitions, here is Marco's description of his own policy: "Now it came to pass that Marco, the son of Messer Nicolo, sped wondrously in learning the customs of the Tartars, as well as their language, their manner of writing, and their practice of war; in fact he came in brief space to know several languages, and four sundry written characters. And he was discreet and prudent in every way, insomuch that the Emperor held him in great esteem. And so when he discerned Marco to have so much sense, and to conduct himself so well and beseemingly, he sent him on an ambassage of his, to a country which was a good six months' journey distant. The young gallant executed his commission well and with discretion. Now he had taken note on several occasions that when the prince's ambassadors returned from different parts of the world, they were able to tell him about nothing except the business on which they had gone; and that the prince in consequence held them for no better than fools and dolts, and would say: 'I had far liefer hearken about the strange things, and the manners of the different countries you have seen, than merely be told of the business you went upon;' for he took great delight in hearing of the affairs of strange countries. Marco, therefore, as he went and returned, took great pains to learn about all kinds of different matters in the countries which he visited, in order to be able to tell about them to the Great Khan. . . . And, as he knew

all the sovereign's ways, like a sensible man he always took much pains to gather knowledge of anything that would be likely to interest him, and then on his return to court he would relate everything in regular order; and thus the Emperor came to hold him in great love and favour."

These missions took Marco to different provinces, as far as northern Burma, which no other European is known to have visited until 1860. He was three years Governor of Yangchow, with twenty-four towns under his rule; meanwhile, his father and uncle were trading throughout the Empire, especially in jewels. Seventeen years passed by in this way, and the three Polos began to wish for home; moreover, Kublai was now old, and the native lords were naturally jealous; the Khan's death might have meant immediate ruin to the three Italians. But Kublai "liked so much to have them about him, that nothing on earth would persuade him to let them go." Fortune, however, favoured them at last. In 1286, Argon, the Tartar lord of Persia, had lost his favourite wife, who, with her dying breath, had besought him to replace her by a Mongol maiden of her own kin. He sent three envoys to Kublai, who chose a girl and sent her with them to his vassal. But the envoys, after eight months' travel homeward by land, found the roads closed by warring tribes, and made their way back to China. At that moment Marco returned from an important embassy on which he had been sent to India, and made his report to Kublai. "And the three envoys, having seen that Messer Nicolo, Messer Maffeo, and Messer Marco were not only Latins, but men of marvellous good sense withal, took thought among themselves to get the three to travel with them, their intention being to return by sea on account of the great fatigue of that long land journey for a lady. And the ambassadors were the more desirous to have their company, as being aware that those three had great knowledge and experience of the Indian Sea and the countries by which they would have to pass;

and especially Messer Marco. So they went to the Great Khan, and begged as a favour that he would send the three Latins with them, as it was their desire to return home by sea. The Khan, having that great regard for those three Latins, was very loth to do so; and his countenance showed great dissatisfaction. But at last he did give them permission to depart, enjoining them to accompany the three envoys and the lady. . . . He gave them two golden Tablets of Authority, which should secure them liberty of passage through all his dominions, and by means of which, whithersoever they should go, all necessaries would be provided for them, and for all their company, and whatsoever they might choose to order. He charged them also with messages to the King of France, the King of England, the King of Spain, and the other kings of Christendom. He then caused thirteen ships to be equipped, each of which had four masts, and often spread twelve sails. . . . Among the said ships were at least four or five that carried crews of 250 or 260 men." After three months they came to Java, and their sea voyage lasted eighteen months more. "From the day they embarked until their landing [at Hormuz] there died of mariners and others on board 600 persons; and of the three ambassadors only one survived; but of the ladies and damsels died but one." They found Argon was dead, and delivered the lady to his son; she wept to part with them. Argon's brother and successor gave them four golden Tablets of Authority, so efficacious that sometimes they were furnished with as many as 200 horsemen for their escort. They travelled by Trebizond, Constantinople, and Negropont to Venice, which they reached in 1295. A later Venetian tradition tells how the three travellers were treated by their kindred as alien impostors, until they ripped open their coarse Tartar garments and poured forth the most convincing profusion of "rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds, and emeralds, which had been sewn into each coat with great care." Certainly it is possible that we might have

known nothing of the Polos beyond vague hearsay, but for the great misfortune which clouded the end of Marco's life. There was constant rivalry and bickering with the Genoese, whom the Venetians stigmatized as "leprous swine." Venice had generally had the upper hand; but the Genoese beat her in the great sea fight of 1294 and the still greater battle of 1298. In this last Marco commanded a ship, and was taken prisoner with 7,000 of his fellow-countrymen. There he dictated the story of his travels to a fellow-prisoner, Rusticiano of Pisa, who had already written several of the Arthurian legends in French, and who, like others of the day, chose that tongue as the most universal language of that time. Marco spent less than a year in prison, returned to Venice, and died in 1324. His book is recognized by the most careful modern scholars as fulfilling, in the main, Rusticiano's promise in the Prologue: "If you would know the pure truth concerning the divers regions of the world, then take this book and cause it to be read unto you."

It was not only popular, but influential. It is probably responsible for some of the improvements in later mediæval maps; it did much to stimulate Prince Henry the Navigator; and Columbus's copy of the book, with annotations in his own handwriting, show abundantly how far it influenced him.

That which these travellers saw in China, and reported on their return, was even more calculated than the adventurous story of their journey to stir the Western mind, and to undermine the conventions of centuries. First, there was the unquestionable superiority of these idolaters in trade, in wealth, and in mechanical inventions or appliances. If the friar Odoric tells us this briefly and with comparative reluctance, Marco Polo enlarges upon it with all the zest of a keen business man. Both were to some extent dependent upon the Chinese guide-books current at the time; either they themselves misunderstood these in

certain places, or the copyists of their manuscripts have falsified their original words. Thus, whereas Odoric tells us that Kin-sai (Hangchow), the city of canals, had 10,000 bridges, and Polo gives 12,000, contemporary Chinese documents assure us that there were 340 at most;[1] again, their calculation of 100 miles for the circuit of the city is frankly impossible. Yet for the important city of Tai-tu, Kublai's new capital, Odoric reckons the circuit of the walls at twenty-four miles; and they can still be pretty exactly traced at eighteen and a half English miles. Their arithmetic, therefore, cannot be trusted except where we have corroborative evidence; all mediæval writers allowed themselves wild licence of imagination or guesswork where large numbers were concerned. But Odoric and Polo give a true general impression of the extent to which the Far East was then in advance of Europe in the arts of peace, and also, in the luxury of the richer classes as compared with the poor. The poorer Chinaman, notes Polo, will eat "every kind of flesh, however unclean, without any discrimination," while, for the rich, the ten great market squares of Kin-sai are crowded with vendors of "roebucks, stags, fallow deer, hares, and rabbits, together with partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, common fowls, capons, and such numbers of ducks and geese as can scarcely be expressed; . . . oxen, calves, kids and lambs, to furnish the tables of rich persons and of the great magistrates. . . . At the sight of such an importation of fish, you would think it impossible that it could be sold; and yet, in the course of a few hours, it is all taken off; so great is the number of inhabitants, even of those classes which can afford to indulge in such luxuries. . . . For each of [the twelve superior handicrafts] there are a thousand workshops; and each shop furnishes employment for ten, fifteen, or twenty workmen, and in a few instances as many as forty, under their respective masters. The opulent

[1] A. C. Moule, *New China Review*, Vol. IV. (1922), p. 32.

principals in these manufactories do not labour with their own hands, but, on the contrary, assume airs of gentility and affect parade. Their wives equally abstain from work. They have much beauty, as has been remarked, and are brought up with delicate and languid habits. . . . Their houses are well built and richly adorned with carved work. So much do they delight in ornaments of this kind, in paintings and fancy buildings, that the sums they lavish on such objects are enormous." Let us put side by side with this a native Chinese description from *The Wonders of the Capital*, written nearly a century before Marco Polo, and showing how Hangchow appeared even then. "North and south of the new road outside the Ho-ning gate of the Palace, pearls, jade, jewels, and rarities, and the first flowers and fruit of the season, and sea fish, and eatables from the country, and curiosities, and foreign things are all collected together here in the morning. And when you reach other gates and bridges, food-shops and dwelling-houses are densely packed. And the night markets everywhere, except in front of the Palace, are the same, but principally at the front of the Middle Wa, where they have lotteries of toys and sweets and things of every description exactly the same as by day. The markets, buying and selling, wrestling-rings (?), wine-towers and singing-halls in the other districts and lanes go straight on and do not close till about 2 a.m.; and about 3 or 4 o'clock the horses [of the officials] going to audience begin to move, and those who hope to sell at the early market get up again at dawn and open shop. All the year round it is like this, but when you come to Yuan Hsiao the scene is still more lively; the silk-growers crowd in at the gates to obtain loans; the people make booths; tents for shows and entertainments are set up in lines, and it quite baffles description. . . . The capital is the place where everything is brought together, like the flowers, hats, combs [ornamental], hair-pins, rings, collars, head-bands, of extreme ingenuity and modern invention, which are gathered in the flower

bazaar in the Kuan lane. The well-known establishments which value their reputation among the business houses of the capital are such as the Chestnut Syrup shop, the Sweet Bran Soup shop in front of the Miscellaneous Goods Market, or as the Ko family's Honey-jujubes, the Kuang family's Broth at the mouth of the Kuan lane, the cooked meat shop in front of the Shou-tz'ŭ Palace, the five Sisters Sung for Fish Broth outside the Ch'ien-t'ang Gate ; the Chih family's Mutton Dinners, the P'êng family for Waterproof Boots, the Hsuan family for Edible Moss, and the Chang family's Dumplings ; Ku Ssü's flutes, or the Ch'iu family's Pipes. For scholars there is the Poetry festival on the West Lake. This festival is unlike the other festival gatherings. And the scholars of the temporary capital and sojourners and poets have in the past produced many famous literary men. For riddles and allegories there are the South and North Hou Schools and the West School. Those who write verses gather together and form a School. There are also Football and Polo Holidays, and Water-cross-bow and Archery Holidays. If one is a Buddhist, then there is the Kuang-ming Gathering at the Upper T'ien-chu monastery, when all the wealthy families inside and outside the city help to prepare incense and flowers, lanterns and candles, giving gifts and spending money to provide for the needs of this monastery for the whole year. There are also Tea and Soup Gatherings. For these Gatherings, whenever any one of all the monasteries and convents on the hills holds a Gathering, then people go there with tea and soup to help and minister to the pious at the Gathering.

" The capital has the river on the east and the lake on the west, and is traversed by artificial waterways so that it is admirably suited for boats ; all cunningly built with carved rails and painted beams, and travelling as smoothly and steadily as if one were sitting on terra firma. All the year round they are constantly hired by pleasure parties. The utensils and things needed on

the boats are all provided, and one has only to come out in the morning and go on board and drink and go home in the evening, without any other exertion than the spending of money. The private boats of those who have palaces or luxurious houses are specially well and finely built. Both on the West Lake in the spring and on the river in the autumn there are dragon-boats racing for prizes, beautifully light and rapid in movement." A similar guide-book adds one extraordinarily modern detail: "There is also the carriage-boat of Chia Ch'iu ho's palace. On the deck above the cabin there are no men punting, but it travels by means of wheels worked with a treadmill, and the speed is like flying."

Into all this luxury the Chinese had settled down at the time when Latins were fighting Greeks in the Fourth Crusade; and Marco Polo noted the deeper significance of all this. Southern China had been ruled, at the time of Marco's birth, by a king who far outdid all his subjects in luxury, and who trusted so fully in their numbers and their loyalty that he regarded invasion as impossible; "he neither paid any attention himself to military affairs, nor encouraged his people to become acquainted with military exercises." Then from the north, in 1260, came the Tartar Kublai Khan, who conquered the country, and who, with his successors, held it in subjection for centuries, by sheer naked militarism. In every city the Khan kept a large garrison of mercenaries. "The greater part of the revenues of the cities, paid into the treasury of the Grand Khan, is appropriated to the maintenance of these garrisons. When it happens that a city is in a state of rebellion (and it is not an uncommon occurrence for these people, actuated by some sudden exasperation, or when intoxicated, to murder their [Tartar] governors), a part of the garrison of a neighbouring city is immediately dispatched with orders to destroy the place where such guilty excesses have been committed. For such purposes, the city of Kinsai constantly supports a garrison of 30,000 soldiers; and

the smallest number stationed at any place is 1,000." We may discount the numbers, but the main fact is well known ; and there is no reason to suspect Marco of more than numerical exaggeration when he describes the funeral of the Khans. "Wherever they die, though it were a hundred days' journey, the corpse is borne to the ancestral burying-place in the mountains, and the attendants slay every man or horse whom they meet by the way, in order that they may wait upon their master in the next world." "When the corpse of Mongi was transported to this mountain, the horsemen who accompanied it, having this blind and horrible persuasion, slew upwards of 20,000 persons who fell in their way." But, in an ordinary way, these Khans contented themselves with their harems and their vast palaces, their ten thousand falconers and ten thousand beaters, and their hunting rights over the whole vast kingdom ; for no man presumed to hunt within five miles of wherever the ruler happened to be chasing with his multitude of attendants during the winter months ; nor was any tradesman, mechanic, or husbandman throughout the empire permitted to keep a hawk or a sporting dog. "In this manner, during the season of his diversion, he enjoys himself to a degree that no person who is not an eye-witness can conceive ; the excellence and extent of his sport being greater than it is possible to express." Under this despot and this ruling caste of Tartar warriors and hunters, ordinary life still went on in China much as it had gone before the conquest. Apart from these occasional wild outbreaks or political revolts of which Polo has already spoken, "the natural disposition of the native inhabitants of Kin-sai is pacific ; and by the example of their former kings, who were themselves unwarlike, they have been accustomed to habits of tranquillity. The management of arms is unknown to them ; nor do they keep any in their houses. Contentious broils are never heard among them. They conduct their mercantile and manufacturing concerns with perfect

candour and probity.[1] They are friendly towards each other; and persons who inhabit the same street, both men and women, from the mere circumstance of neighbourhood, appear like one family." He goes on to describe their pleasant family life, their politeness to strangers, and their dislike of the sight of soldiery, "not excepting the guards of the Grand Khan." He passes thence to describe their amusements, with many of the details noted in the guide-books; the water-picnics, with their luxurious arrangements both on board and on land, and the landscape upon which we may feast our eyes while we sit at table. "For, as the lake extends the whole length of the city, on one side, you have a view of all its grandeur and beauty; its palaces, temples, convents, and gardens, with trees of the largest size growing down to the water's edge, while at the same time you enjoy the sight of other boats continually passing you, filled in like manner with parties in pursuit of amusement. In fact, the inhabitants of Kin-sai, as soon as the labours of the day have ceased, or their mercantile transactions are closed, think of nothing else than of passing the remaining hours in parties of pleasure, with their wives or their mistresses, either in these barges, or about the city in carriages."

In the history of mediæval thought, it is nearly always on the trade-routes that we mark the emergence of new or heretical ideas. Therefore, behind the immediate interest of these pictures which the great travellers give us, there lie always the deeper considerations: How far had these men themselves lost the mediæval idea of the need for uniformity in thought and action? And how far did their speech or their writings communicate

[1] Compare Polo's character of the Brahmins (Book III., chap. xxi.): "These are the best and most honourable merchants that can be found. No consideration whatever can induce them to speak an untruth, even though their lives should depend upon it. They have also an abhorrence of robbery or of purloining the goods of other persons." He gives also a striking instance of justice in Malabar (Book III., chap. xx.), among men so different from Christians that "they represent the images of their deities black, but the devil they paint white, and assert that all the demons are of that colour."

such doubts to other men ? And lastly, seeing that this overland trade-route had now become comparatively frequented, and spices and stuffs came regularly by the ways which Odoric and Polo had trodden, how far was this fact responsible for that spread of pestilence from far East to far West, a generation later, in the Black Death ?

CHAPTER XVI

SEA TRADE

We have seen in some detail what the adventurer's life meant; we can realize his sufferings by the way, and his feelings in face of those unknown worlds; feelings of disappointment as in Piano Carpini's and Rubrouck's case, or of triumph with Odoric and Monte Corvino and Marco Polo. Let us now go back to consider that general mechanism of travel and commerce of which even Marco Polo formed only one small cog-wheel.

We have seen how, before the Crusades, the pilgrim is more prominent in our records than the trader, and how he did much to teach the trader. Yet he was probably not more prominent in fact. Even before the middle of the eleventh century, such active Italian ports as Naples, Amalfi, and Palermo had constant relations with the Mohammedan ports of northern Africa, which in turn were actively connected with the Soudan. Benjamin of Tudela, in 1159, tells us that Barcelona had merchants from all parts of the world. The Crusades increased enormously the importance of these merchants and sailors, who carried troops and munitions oversea, built siege machines for the Crusaders, and often fought as well or better than the soldiers. Moreover, they were better organized and disciplined. Making all allowance for the enormous gulf between theory and practice in the Middle Ages, there is great significance in the sea-laws which, as Roger of Hoveden

tells us, were decreed by our Richard I. for that fleet which sailed from Gascony in 1190, and duly landed the English Crusaders in Syria, after conquering the kingdom of Cyprus by the way. "Richard, by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all his men who are about to sail for Jerusalem, greeting. Know ye that we, by common counsel of men of worth, have made the rules of justice written here below. He who on shipboard shall kill a man, let him be bound to the corpse and cast into the sea; if he kill him on land, let him be bound to the corpse and buried in the earth. If any be convicted by lawful witnesses of having drawn his knife to smite another, or if he have wounded him to the blood, let him lose his hand. If, however, he have only smitten him with his hand, without effusion of blood, let him be thrice plunged into the sea. If any man speak opprobrious or despiteful words, or invoke God's hatred, against another, let him give an ounce of silver for every such offence. If a thief be convicted of theft, let his head be shaven as though for the ordeal by battle, and let boiling pitch be poured on his head, and the feathers of a feather-bed be shaken over his head, that he be known for what he is; and, at the first place at which the ship may touch, let him be cast forth." This, being a war-code, was of special stringency; doubtless it was seldom enforced with literal strictness; but it expressed the king's determination to maintain far sterner discipline on board ship than any land forces ever reached in those days.[1] And we have sea-codes, some perhaps earlier than this, which testify to the efficiency aimed at, and to some extent obtained, by the best sea-traders. The Laws of Oléron, which date at least from 1266, were accepted by western France, Flanders and Holland, England, Castile, and most of the Baltic cities. Very similar were the Laws of Wisby,

[1] Joinville (§ 644) gives us a glimpse of Crusaders' naval discipline; thieves and similar offenders were banished to the cock-boat, which was towed behind the ship.

of Jutland, and the code of "the Consulate of the Sea" in the Mediterranean, with other derivative codes which were carefully recorded, for the use of mediæval English law-courts, in the *Black Book of the Admiralty*. These laws prescribe severe, but only reasonably severe, punishments for indiscipline or crime on the sailors' part; they protect the men, on the other hand, from unfair treatment; and they regulate the conflicting interests of the captain and the merchants, whose cargoes or whose persons he is carrying, in almost modern detail; they are evidently the fruit of centuries of experience. Even beyond the Middle Ages, we have testimony to the survival of these regulations in the journal of J. D. Wunderer, who sailed from Riga to Tramünd, near Lübeck, in 1590, on board a great Hansa ship. The skipper compelled the 47 passengers to elect a judge and four assessors among themselves for the settling of all disputes, and proceeded to read out the ship-law from a written text. This is, essentially, the old mediæval code; *e.g.*, if a man be caught sleeping on his watch, "let him be punished by common sea-law: that is, let him be tied to a rope and hauled round under the keel." If he draw sword or dagger against another, "let the weapon be struck through the offender's hand into the foremast, so that, if he would go free, he must himself draw the weapon out of his hand." "No man shall spill or pour away more beer than he can cover with his foot, under penalty of a cask of beer." In all these cases, however, there is a proviso that the penalty may be modified according to circumstances. We have somewhat similar evidence, in the comment of a later translator, for moderation of the strict letter of the Laws of Oléron. Clause 34 of that code runs: "It is established for a custom of the sea that, if a ship is lost by fault of the pilot, the mariners may, if they please, bring the pilot to the windlass or any other place, and cut off his head, without the mariners being bound to answer before any judge; because the pilot has committed high treason against his undertaking of the

pilotage." But the commentator adds: "They ought first to know, before they do it, if he is able to make amends"—*i.e.* whether he can pay the costs, or something nearly equivalent.

Another definite step forward in civilization may be found in the institution of "consuls" at different ports, and the consequent agreements, verbal at first but afterwards written, for the guidance of such consuls and the fellow-countrymen whose interests it was their duty to guard. The earliest of these written agreements dates from 1184; and, as time went on, we find these commercial relations between Christian and Mussulman often regulated on higher principles than were yet recognized by feudal law at home. In 1270, for instance, the principle of reprisals was repudiated; the Eastern ruler did not, like most Western lords, claim the right of seizing the goods of a merchant who died on his territory; again, the right of wreckage was abolished here centuries before it was abolished in Europe. Moreover, freedom of worship was allowed to these Christian traders in Mohammedan ports. Numerous documents testify to the commercial peace which often reigned between these political enemies, even in the thick of the Crusades. Indeed, this was one great difficulty both in Church and in State. We find popes and princes legislating against the supply of war material from Mediterranean ports to Saracen enemies; but Venice and Genoa and the Spanish ports drove a busy clandestine trade in these articles. Indeed, in one case it was not even clandestine; for, in spite of papal and ecclesiastical decrees, James I. of Aragon guaranteed to the shipbuilders of Barcelona state protection for their intercourse with Egypt, although wood for shipbuilding was one of the articles most difficult for Saracens to procure, and therefore most strictly forbidden for exportation from Christian ports. "After the time of Saladin, this commerce rather increased than diminished with the growing sense of commercial interest; the efforts of the Popes (even of Innocent III.), of the

Venetian Doges, of the Genoese Consuls, of the Aragonese kings, were in vain directed against it with a zeal often feigned and never effective; and, while official proclamations were being issued against a 'blasphemous trade,' it was secretly extended by fresh treaties. The Italian and other Mediterranean smugglers might perhaps claim that, if they retired, their place would be taken by the Flemings, Saxons, Danes, and other Northerners who now made their appearance in the markets of the Delta. In spite of the rage and terror which Saladin's conquests produced; in spite of the growing sense that, if the Holy War were ever to succeed, Egypt must be conquered; and in spite of the Egyptian character of all the later Crusades, commercial ambitions steadily gained upon political enmities. Thus Wilbrand of Oldenburg replaces Godfrey of Bouillon; and the indifferent Frederick II., nominal leader of a Crusade, maintains so close a friendship with the Sultan of Egypt that German merchants (it is said) were able to travel in the company of Egyptians to the Indies." (Beazley.)

Little by little, all the greatest ports had obtained definite lodgments among either schismatic Greeks or heathen Saracens. Constantinople, long before the Fourth Crusade, contained a large Western population of this kind, whose interests often conflicted with those of the Greeks. After 1204, Genoese settlements in the Levant were second only to those of Venice. Amalfi, before even the First Crusade, had factories in Sicily and Constantinople, a street at Antioch, and a hospital with its church actually in Jerusalem; from this, in 1099, sprang the Order of Hospitallers. In 1250 there was a "street of the English" at Acre; and most of the great maritime cities of the Mediterranean had their "street" in the main Syrian ports. In the twelfth century, Genoa had a "quarter" at Acre and at Jaffa, and Marseilles had one at Jerusalem. Pisa rivalled even Genoa until its fleet was destroyed by the Genoese at Meloria (1284). Lisbon, Narbonne, Montpellier were active also in Mediterranean trade; there were 27 ports

on these 400 miles of North African coast; and Benjamin of Tudela enumerates 28 states or towns whose merchants may be found in Alexandria alone. The Egyptians were even modern enough to start ostrich-farms, since the demand for knightly plumes apparently outstripped the supply from wild birds of the desert. Chronic piracies and frequent international wars had to be reckoned with; but so great was the pilgrim's spiritual and the trader's worldly gain that intercourse grew in proportion with general prosperity. Indeed, war itself provided one lucrative article of commerce; Narbonne, for instance, had a slave-market at a regular tariff: two slaves there cost as much as a mule, two mules as much as a horse. Two prelates in England, Lanfranc of Canterbury and Wulfstan of Worcester, share the credit of having put a stop to the selling of slaves to the Irish. But in southern France and Italy the slave-trade continued all through the Middle Ages, and servitude was justified on moral and economic grounds by orthodox mediæval philosophers; Wyclif alone has been marked as an exception to the general rule here. No Pope or Church Council fulminated against slavery; the Archbishop of Narbonne, in 1149, left his Saracen slaves by will to the Bishop of Béziers; and, in 1251, another Archbishop of Narbonne complained that the Viscount had withheld from him his rightful profits on two slave-markets, to the amount of 2,500 sols, or about £15,000 in modern purchasing power.[1] Narbonne, in fact, was one of the ports which gained most from the Crusades. When the Holy Land was finally lost, a great deal of the African trade was concentrated upon the kingdom of Cyprus. The traveller, Rudolf of Saxony, wrote to the Bishop of Paderborn in 1341 describing the wealth and extravagance of the nobility. He added: "The mer-

[1] The wholesale slave-trade of later centuries dates from a papal bull of 1450, permitting the King of Portugal to attack any pagan nations in Africa, and to enslave his captives; and from another of 1493, giving similar powers to the Spanish conquerors of South America. For slavery in southern France see Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, Vol. IV., ii., p. 163.

chants also have gained enormous wealth, and this is no marvel; for their island is the last Christian land towards the East, so that all merchants and merchandises, from whatsoever port they may come, must needs stop in Cyprus. . . . A merchant of Famagosta, when he married his daughter, gave her, for her head-dress alone, jewels that were worth as much (so some French knights, our fellow-travellers, assured me) as all those of the Queen of France. . . . I say nothing of the spiceries here; they are as commonly kept and sold as bread. As for precious stones, gold brocades, and other objects of luxury, I cannot tell you; no man would believe me in Saxony."

This mid-fourteenth century was the apogee of Mediterranean sea-trade; from that time forward, or even earlier, the Italians and Spaniards had formidable northern competitors.

Before the Crusades, the commerce of the Low Countries ran in two simple currents. The northern provinces (*e.g.* Holland) sent their boats up the mouths of the Rhine to traffic with Cologne, and thence by the Rhine valley to central Europe; for, of all mediæval trade-routes, there was probably no single long stretch half as busy as the Rhine. The southern provinces (*e.g.* Flanders) traded mainly over the North Sea to England and Scandinavia. The Crusades gave another direction, or rather they added a fresh route which crossed and coalesced with the others. Bruges, with its ports of Damme and Zwin, became the meeting-place of one line of commerce which ran from Scandinavia to southern Spain, and another which ran to England from Constantinople, mainly by way of the Rhine. But there was another much-frequented route from Constantinople; much merchandise went across Russia, and there joined the current of Baltic trade and found its way to Bruges, which was the great fourteenth-century port of the West. At the beginning of the century the Hanseatic League had its main depot here; the Teutonic Knights had their factory; the

THE KRAHNENTOR (CRANE-GATE) AT DANTZIG.

Built in 1411, it takes its name from the great contemporary crane for loading and unloading ships.

Lombards banked here far more busily than in London; and five separate nations had their settlements in the town. A document of a little before 1300 shows us 34 different countries, Christian and Mussulman, trading with Bruges; and, some twenty years later, we find a regular packet-service, sailing at stated intervals, from Zwin to Genoa and Venice. It was only in the fifteenth century that this trade was gradually usurped and overshadowed by Antwerp.

The Hansa, on the Baltic, gives even more definite testimony to commercial expansion. In 1241 Hamburg and Lübeck made a solemn alliance for the protection of trade, especially against the pirates who infested those northern creeks. The King of Denmark protected these men; the two cities attacked him in 1246, ravaged his coasts, and compelled him to formal concessions. Bremen, Brunswick, and the chief Baltic ports joined the alliance; in 1260 this Hansa held a solemn parliament, the "Hansetag," and constituted itself as a sort of maritime republic under an elective Grand Master, who sat at Lübeck. Here was the treasury, and here the deputies assembled for debate and legislation every three years. In the fourteenth century many inland cities, and even smaller towns, had joined the league, which had members in all northern Germany and the Low Countries, and even outside the Empire: Wisby in Denmark, Bergen in Norway, Calmar and Stockholm in Sweden, and Cracow in Poland. Its membership rose in the fifteenth century to 84, and it had its own armies and fleets. Periodical expeditions swept the seas; in 1488, 150 pirates were beheaded in the Hamburg market-place on a single day; and from about that time forward there was very little trouble on the routes frequented by Hansa ships. They did something serious, also, for the protection of land-routes in northern Germany. They had their depots, with extra-territorial privileges, in many great towns: the Steelyard in London; smaller factories, under the control of the captain of this London Steelyard, in Lynn, Boston,

York, Bristol, Ipswich, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Hull. But, towards the end of the Middle Ages, the Hansa decayed. It had always kept internal peace with great success on the whole; Hamburg and Lübeck and Dantzig never entered upon such ruinous wars with each other as we may trace between Amalfi and Pisa, and Genoa and Venice and Zara. But (the tendency of all such unions in the long run) legitimate self-defence became aggressive monopoly. Our Richard II., for instance, in 1381 decreed a Navigation Law which was practically a retaliation upon Hansa monopolies. The discovery of the New World, by its diversion of commerce from old northern routes, dealt a further blow; and the Hansa was finally dissolved in 1641. It had done splendid work in an age of indiscipline and violence, but it had not kept pace with an advancing world.

Even in this brief sketch, one great merchant adventurer must be named before we pass away from sea commerce. The ports and the land-fairs of France suffered cruelly from the Hundred Years' War. When Charles VII. came to the throne he had only one great port on the west, La Rochelle; and that had been deserted by the Hansa merchants. On the Mediterranean, the French merchants were no longer in regular communication with the East, and the ports were in sad decay. Jacques Cœur was born at Bourges, where the princely house which he finally built is still to be seen, carved with the motto: *À vaillants cœurs rien impossible.* A contemporary chronicler describes him as "destitute of literature, but very able, open-minded, and industrious in business;" to which we may add that he was immensely ambitious and had few scruples. He worked himself into partnership with the mint-master of Bourges, and fraudulently debased the coinage; for this he was obliged to obtain letters of pardon (1429). Three years later he was bold enough to sail for the Levant and come back with spices. He was shipwrecked off Corsica, and stripped to his shirt by the

JACQUES CŒUR'S SHIP.
(From a window of his mansion at Bourges.)

wreckers; but he came back rich in commercial experience; and, a few years later, he was in the front rank of Levant merchants. He gained the king's favour, bought valuable privileges, and was appointed to many important offices at court and in his own province. "As royal counsellor, commissary to the Parliament of Languedoc, inspector-general of customs in Languedoc, this able man managed to impose his own will upon the citizens of the South, enlisting as assistants the merchants who seemed capable of serving him, and crushing the rest under the weight of his privileges and his official credit. He had under his orders a chosen crew, entirely devoted to his interests, whom he made into rich men. . . . The members of Parliament and the city magistrates did what this powerful Jacques Cœur wanted. They voted contributions to his enterprises, exempted his wares from taxation, decreed fresh tariffs for his advantage, and repaired ports and canals." (Petit-Dutaillis.) His fleets went out heavily laden, and brought back furs from the North, silks and spices and carpets and porcelain from the East, with a passenger service for Christians and Mohammedans, and a slave-trade to help. As soon as the treaty of 1444 was signed, he began to trade with English merchants. Moreover, he had all kinds of other enterprises: a silk factory at Florence, mines near Lyons, salt monopolies in five cities; dyeing works at Montpellier, and paper works at Rochetaillée; he had innumerable agents at home and abroad. His glory reflected glory upon his nation; France would doubtless have recovered when the war was over, but he began her recovery many years before; and now, after a sad eclipse, France won again a prestige in the East which she was destined long to keep. For ten years Jacques Cœur remained the Napoleon of French financiers; and then he fell. He had naturally made many enemies, and had committed many illegalities—fresh debasements of coinage, shameless bribery of officials, consignments of arms to Mussulman enemies, and, on one occasion, he had sent back a

Christian slave who had taken refuge on one of his ships, in order to avoid offending the Sultan of Egypt. He was accused also of having poisoned the king's mistress, Agnes Sorel, but that charge was dropped. The nobility naturally hated this man who enjoyed more royal favour than they; many of them, again, owed him money, and had everything to gain from his dis-

A CARAVEL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

grace. The king abandoned his minister; two of his worst personal enemies were added to the judicial commission appointed to try his case; the sale of arms and the abandonment of the Christian were proved to the hilt. The judges decreed confiscation of his property, and imprisonment until he had paid a fine of 400,000 crowns. He escaped from prison, and procured from the Pope the command of part of a fleet sent out against the Turks; but he died at Chios in 1456. Yet his

spectacular fall was far from ending the movement to which he had given so great an impetus. There were many other self-made men on a more modest scale; such men commanded two-thirds of the votes in Charles VII.'s council. Even in France, Feudalism was yielding, as a political force, to commercialism.

We end mediæval sea-exploration with Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed "The Navigator"; Beazley, indeed, counts him as already modern rather than mediæval. He is the first prince who set himself, from deliberate and consistent policy, to direct sea trade and discovery. He was the third son of John I., his mother being an Englishwoman, Philippa, daughter to John of Gaunt. At the age of twenty-one he distinguished himself at the capture of Ceuta (1415), was knighted, and created governor of the city. Thence he migrated to Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, built a private observatory, and began systematically building large seaworthy ships, "caravels." He invited mathematicians and mariners to his court, who made improved maps under his direction. Before 1420 his ships had rediscovered Madeira; this and the Azores and the Canaries were made into Portuguese colonies; and his caravels sailed farther south down the African coast, voyage after voyage, discovering fresh markets and bringing home rich cargoes and many slaves. They even sailed up the river Gambia; this was the extreme limit of discovery at Henry's death (1460). But in 1486, under the inspiration of and in systematic extension of this earlier work, the Portuguese captain, Bartolomeo Diaz, sailed as far as a promontory which he called the Cape of Storms. This apt but ill-omened name was at once changed by royal command to Cape of Good Hope. Six years later Columbus discovered America; a story too well known and too modern to need more than this single sentence here.

INDEX

Abailard, 13.
Abou Abd Allah Mohammad, Sheikh, 100–1.
Abou Tourab, 100.
Achaia, Prince of, 122, 155 *n.*
Acre, 75, 92–3, 117, 121, 165, 174, 175, 183 *n.*, 186, 241.
Adam, 95.
Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, 11, 24, 37, 45, 47, 54, 63, 65, 67, 69, 79.
Admiralty, *see* Black Book.
Africa, 237, 242, 250.
Africans, 47.
Ai, 133.
Ailward, 194.
Al-Aksa, mosque of, 106.
Albania, 38, 39.
Albigensians, 161.
Aleppo, 39, 91.
Aleth, 110.
Alexander III., 114.
Alexandreta, 60.
Alexandria, 169, 242.
Alexius I., Comnenus, Greek emperor, 15, 30–1, 33 *n.*, 36, 36 *n.*, 40, 43 *ff.*, 55, 61, 62.
Alexius II., Comnenus, Greek emperor, 89.
Alexius III., Greek emperor, 118–9, 136, 139, 140, 142–3.
Alexius IV., Greek emperor, 118 *ff.*, 122, 133, 134, 135, 137, 143 *ff.*, 146.
Allenby, General, 167.
Alphonso, brother of Louis IX., 170, 173.
Alps, 21, 165.
Amalfi, 40, 41, 237, 241, 246.
America, 250.
— South, 242 *n.*
American Civil War, 112, 192.
Amiens, 25.
Amoy, 222.
Andrew, St., 63.
— Church of, in Scotland, 197.
Anjou, Charles of, 174.
— Count of, 238.
— Fulk of, King of Jerusalem, 103 *ff.*
Anna Comnena, 34 *n.*, 36.
Annals of Cologne, the, 137.
Anselm, 13.
Antichrist, 11, 12, 23.
Antioch, 26 *n.*, 34, 49 *ff.*, 66–7, 70 *ff.*, 83, 85, 90, 91–2, 95, 97, 106, 114, 241.
Antivari, 201.
Antwerp, 245.
Apocalypse, 161.
Apostles, 156, 159.
Apostles' Creed, 211.
Appian Way, 40.
Aquitaine, Eleanor of, 89.
— Duke of, 238.
Arabic, 189, 212.
Arabs, 15, 47, 48, 76, 182; *see also* Mohammedans, Saracens, Turks.
Aragon, 13, 241.
— James I. of, 240.
Araines, Henri d', 126.
Arca, 67, 74–5.
Ardennes, 38.
Argon, 227, 228.
Aristotle, 180.
Armenia, 85, 92, 209, 225.
Armenians, 48, 52, 54, 56, 57, 66, 221.
Arnulf, 67, 79.
Artois, Count of, 169–70, 172, 173.
Ascalon, 79.
— Battle of, 41.
Asia, Central, 14, 198, 205.
— Minor, 15, 17, 44, 49, 90, 92, 177.

Attila, 14.
Australia, 160.
Austria, Leopold, Duke of, 93.
Autun, Bishop of, 126.
Auvergne, 9.
Auxerre, 217.
— Count of, 173.
Avignon, 180, 224, 225.
Azores, 250.

Baghdad, 205, 226.
Baldwin I., Emperor of Constantinople, *see* Flanders, Baldwin of.
Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, 160.
Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, 85.
Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, 85.
Balkash, Lake, 215.
Baltic, 177, 238–9, 243, 245–6.
Bar, Thibaut, Count of, 125.
Barcelona, 237, 240.
Bari, 40, 193.
Barker, E., 177.
Bartholomew, Peter, 63, 67–8, 75.
Bati, 204, 206, 211 *ff.*
Beaumanoir, 109.
Beaumaris, 177.
Beazley, 241, 250.
Becket, 154.
Bedouins, 98.
Belial, 151.
Benedict, St., 111.
Benedict XII., 225.
Benedict XIV., 224.
Benedictine Order, 111.
Bergen, 245.
Bernard, St., 13, 87–8, 90, 108 *ff.*
Bethlehem, 75, 166.
Beyrout, 75.
Béziers, Gaston de, 78.
— Bishop of, 242.
Bibars, Sultan, 172 *ff.*
Bible, 75, 99, 108, 182.
Black Book of the Admiralty, 239.
Black Death, the, 236.
Black Sea, 33 *n.*, 210.
Blanche of Castile, Queen of France, 172.
Blécourt, 173.
Blois, Counts of, *see* Chartres.
Bohemia, 206.
— Stephen of, 201.
Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, 40 *ff.*, 51 *ff.*, 70 *ff.*, 83.
Bombay, 222.
Boniface VIII., 178.
Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, 125, 127, 134 *ff.*, 144, 147, 151, 160.
Borland, Garnier of, 135.
Borneo, 222.
Bosporus, 31, 33 *n.*, 44, 139.
Boston, 245.
Bouillon, 38.
— Godfrey of, 38–9, 43, 63, 66, 74, 76, 77, 79, 190–1, 241.
Boulogne, Counts of, 38.
— Eustace of, 39, 77.
Bourbon, Etienne de, 175.
Bourges, 87, 162, 246.
Brabant, 38.
Brahmins, 235 *n.*
Bremen, 245.
Brienne, Alfonse of, 183 *n.*
— John of, King of Jerusalem, 165, 183 *n.*
Brindisi, 39, 40, 165.
Bristol, 246.
Britain, 193, 195, 197.
Brittany, 121.
— Count of, 173.
Bromous, Pierre, 126.
Bruges, 243.
Brunswick, 245.
— Otto of, 119–20.
Buddhists, 215 *n.*, 216, 220.
Buffon, George, 109.
Bugia, 189.
Bulgaria, 29, 30, 38, 42, 43, 62, 89.
Bulgarians, 160.
Burgundy, 111, 126.
— Duke of, 93, 109–10, 125.
Burma, 227.
Bushmen, 160.

Cæsarea, 75.
Cailac, 215.
Cairo, 169.
— Emir of, 58.
Calmar, 245.
Cambridge, 113 *n.*
Cambridge Medieval History, 192 *n.*
Canary Islands, 250.
Canon Law, 113, 132–3.
Canterbury, 23, 242.
Canton, 222.
Cape St. Vincent, *see* Vincent.
Capet, family of, 14.

Cardinals, the, 116.
Carpenter, *see* Melun.
Carthage, 174.
Carthusian Order, 116.
Castile, 13, 238; *see also* Blanche.
Catalan, 189.
Ceuta, 250.
Ceylon, 222.
Chablis, 217 *n.*
Champagne, Theobald, Count of, 122, 125; *see also* Villehardouin.
Chang family, 232.
Chanson d'Antioche, 74 *n.*
Charles the Great, Emperor, 14, 38.
Charles IV., Emperor, 189.
Charles V., King of France, 189.
Charles VII., King of France, 246, 249–50.
Chartres, 39, 85, 122; *see also* Foucher.
Chartres and Blois, Louis, Count of, 122, 135.
— Stephen, Count of, 39, 60.
Château-Gaillard, 177.
Châtillon, Renaud de, 91.
Chaucer, 18, 197.
Chaumont, Hugues de, 126.
Chia Ch'iu ho, 233.
Ch'ien-t'ang Gate, 232.
Chih family, 232.
China, 177, 186, 216, 222, 224–5, 227 *ff.*
Chinese, 230 *ff.*
Chingiz Khan, 204, 213.
Chios, 246.
Ch'iu family, 232.
Chorasmians, 166.
Christopher, St., 215.
Chronicles, Book of, 133.
Cid, the, 13.
Cilicia, 50.
Circassia, 205.
Cistercian Order, 111, 116, 121 *n.*, 134, 137.
— Abbot, 130.
Cîteaux, 111.
Civitot, 35, 45.
Clari, Robert de, 122, 129–30.
Clement III., 91.
Clement IV., 173.
Clement V., 224.
Clermont, 9.
— Council of, ch. I. *passim*, 25, 109.
Cluny, Abbey of, 9, 13.
Cochin China, 222.
Cœur, Jacques, 246–7.
Cologne, 243.
— Annals of, 137.
— Archbishop of, 28.
Columbus, 229, 250.
Comnena, *see* Anna.
Comnenus, *see* Alexius.
Complaints against the Latin Church, 156.
Compostella, 22, 23, 197.
Comte, Auguste, 112 *n.*
Conrad III., Emperor, 88, 90.
Conrad of Montferrat, King of Jerusalem, 125.
Constantinople, 30–1, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43, 54 *n.*, 62, 69 *n.*, 74, 90, 92, 119–20, 122, 133, 137, 139 *ff.*, 147 *ff.*, 158, 160, 161, 177, 180, 194, 210, 228, 241, 243.
"Consulate of the Sea," 239.
Contract of Partition, 159 *n.*, 160.
Cordova, Alvarez of, 182.
Corfu, 135, 138.
— Treaty of, 137.
Corpus Juris Canonici, 113 *n.*, 133.
Corpus Juris Civilis, 113 *n.*
Corrensa, 204, 206.
Corsica, 246.
Corvino, *see* Monte Corvino.
Cosmas, 205.
Cota, 218–9.
Coucy, 177.
Cracow, 245.
Cremona, Bartholomew of, 210.
Cuthbert, St., 197.
Cyprus, 55, 93, 238, 242–3.

Dalmatia, 38, 39, 128, 201.
Damascus, 90–1, 103, 172.
Damietta, 165, 166, 169, 170.
Damme, 243.
Dandolo, Doge, 123 *ff.*, 128, 130–1, 141, 142, 147, 152, 159 *n.*
Danes, 141, 241.
Danilov, 202.
Dante, 19 *n.*, 201.
Dantzig, 246.
Danube, R., 38, 177.
David, Tower of, in Jerusalem, 78.
Decian persecution, 66 *n.*
Delta, 241.
Demetrius, St., 66.

Denmark, 39, 196, 197.
— King of, 245.
Deuil, Odo of, Abbot of St. Denis, 89.
Diana of Ephesus, 22.
Diaz, Bartolomeo, 250.
Dijon, 109.
Dissolution of the Monasteries, 149.
Doges, Venetian, 241; *see also* Dandolo.
Dome of the Rock, 106.
Dominicans, 175, 221, 225.
Don, R., 212.
Dorylæum, 61, 90.
— Battle of, 49.
Doulerant, 187.
Drake, 18.
Drino, R., 42.
Dubois, Pierre, 180.
Durazzo, 40, 43, 44.
Durham, 194.

Ecri-sur-Aisne, 120, 122.
Edessa, 83, 87, 91, 108.
Edward I., King of England, 174.
Edwenna, 194.
Egypt, 15, 91, 127, 129, 164, 165, 173, 174, 240, 241, 249.
Egyptians, 79.
Ekkehard, *see* Urach.
Elbe, R., 13.
Elizabethan seamen, 17–8.
Emmaus, 75.
England, 14, 39, 109, 112, 148, 149, 172, 179, 184, 197, 238, 242, 243.
— King of, 228; *see also* William.
English, 79, 141, 179, 180, 197.
Ephesus, *see* Diana.
Erzeroum, 222.
Eu, Count of, 117, 183 *n.*
Eugenius III., 87, 90.
Euphrates, 33.
Everard the Hunter, 71.
Exorogorgon, 33.
Ezekiel, 165.

Famagosta, 243.
Farne, 197.
Feudalism, 159, 178, 250.
Finchale, 194.
Finistère, 197.
Finisterre, Cape, 197.
Firuz, 59.
Fitzgerald, Robert, 55.
Flanders, 127, 172, 173, 196, 197, 209, 238, 243.
— Baldwin of, 123, 127, 151 *ff.*, 159 *n.*, 160.
— Count of, 126, 173.
— Henry of, 123.
— Mary of, 123.
— Robert of, 15, 39, 54, 63, 66, 76.
— Thierry of, 123.
Flemings, 123, 241.
Florence, 248.
Fontaine, 109.
Forest, Guy, Count of, 126.
Foucher of Chartres, 21, 54 *n.*, 85–6.
France, 14, 25, 26 *n.*, 27, 28, 30, 39, 78 *n.*, 87, 105–6, 114, 116, 121, 123–4, 147, 161, 162, 164, 172 *ff.*, 177 *ff.*, 186, 199, 238, 246 *ff.*
— King of, 228.
— Queen of, 243.
Francis, St., 108, 165, 187.
Franciscan missionaries, 29, 189, 197, 199 *ff.*, ch. XIV. *passim*, 222 *ff.*, 242, 243.
Frankenstein, 159.
Franks, 33, 38, 41, 48, 65, 72, 75, 78, 85, 96–7, 101, 103 *ff.*, 141 *ff.*, 146 *ff.*, 153; *see also* French.
Frederic I., Barbarossa, Emperor, 92, 120.
Frederic II., Emperor, 165 *ff.*, 199, 241.
Freisingen, Otto of, 88.
French, 19, 31, 89, 123, 131–2, 163, 179, 180, 243; *see also* Franks.
French Revolution, 155.
French tongue, 224, 229.
Friars, Orders of, 198; *see also* Dominicans, Franciscans.
Friesland, 165.
Friuli, 222, 224.
Froissart, 18.
Fuchow, 222.

Galata, 141.
Galilæans, 85.
Gambia, R., 250.
Gascony, 238.
Gatherings, 232.
Gaul, 21, 109.
Gaunt, John of, 250.

Gaza, battle of, 167.
Genoa, 74, 154, 165, 240–1, 245–6.
Genoese, 77, 154, 229.
— Consuls, 241.
George, St., 66.
German Empire, 14, 118, 206 *n.*
Germans, 28, 33, 38, 69 *n.*, 89, 93, 94, 132, 163, 165, 167, 179, 198, 206, 241.
Germany, 28, 31, 87, 118 *ff.*, 135, 165, 179, 180, 184, 206, 245.
Gesta Francorum, 34 *n.*, 40, 41, 64, 70, 79 *n.*, 89, 113, 114, 122.
Gibbon, Edward, 28, 33 *n.*, 37, 38, 40, 44, 148 *ff.*, 159.
Gibraltar, 92, 127, 165.
Glaber, Ralph, 13.
Godric, St., 197.
Good Hope, Cape of, 250.
Goset, 210, 213.
Gothic architecture, 14, 149.
Gottschalk, 27.
Grancey, 110.
Grandes Chroniques de France, 189.
Grantmesnil, Aubrey de, 60.
— William de, 60.
Great Cathay, 216.
Great Council of Venice, 124.
Great Khan, 186, 209, 224, 234–5; *see also* Chingiz, Kublai, Kuyuk, Mangu, Mongi.
Great War, the, 49.
Greece, 15, 71 *n.*, 92, 118, 152.
Greek Church, 17, 83, 119–20, 134, 137, 138, 151, 153 *ff.*
Greek Empire, 118, 134.
Greek fire, 71 *n.*, 177.
Greeks, 17, 31, 48, 83, 86, 89, 106, 139–40, 142 *ff.*, 146, 147, 149–51, 154 *ff.*, 177, 180, 185, 205, 218, 233, 241.
Gregory VII., 10, 15, 20, 23.
Gregory IX., 133, 166, 167.
Gregory X., 225.
Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, 10, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25 *ff.*, 29, 31, 36, 36 *n.*, 39 *ff.*, 45, 54 *n.*, 67, 114.
Guiscard, Robert, 40.
Guy, brother of Bohemond, 61.
Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, 93.

HADRIAN, 28.
Hadrianople, battle of, 160.
Hakluyt, 202 *n.*
Halberstadt Chronicle, the, 138.
Hamburg, 245, 246.
Hamelin, Pied Piper of, 165.
Hangchow, 222, 230–1.
Hansa, 239, 243, 245–6.
"Hansetag," 245.
Harenc, castle of, 52.
Hattin, 91.
Hejira, the, 117.
Hellespont, 92.
Henry IV., Emperor, 9, 38.
Henry VI., Emperor, 94.
Henry, Emperor of Constantinople, 157, 159.
Henry II., King of England, 89, 91 *ff.*, 178.
Henry III., King of England, 115.
Henry VIII., King of England, 113 *n.*
Henry, Prince, of Portugal, *see* Navigator.
Herluin, 64–5.
Hersek, 35 *n.*
Highlanders, 20.
Hinduism, 176.
Hippodrome, the, 148.
Hohenstaufen family, 119.
Holland, 238, 243.
Holy Lance, 63 *ff.*, 73, 79.
Holy Land, 124, 129, 162, 172, 175, 191, 242.
Holy Roman Empire, *see* German Empire.
Holy Sepulchre, 15, 37, 38, 55, 57, 58, 61, 66, 77, 78, 94, 115, 166, 197.
Ho-ning, 231.
Hormuz, 222, 228.
Hospitallers, 82, 91, 166.
Hou schools, 232.
Hoveden, Roger of, 237.
Hsuan family, 232.
Hull, 246.
Hungary, 29, 30, 38, 43, 172, 221.
— King of, 128–9, 165, 204.
Huns, 14.

ICONIUM, 50, 61, 92.
Ilchikadai, 209.
Ile de France, 9.
Indian Sea, 227.
Indians, N. American, 160.
Innocent III., 113 *ff.*, 125, 127,

128, 131–2, 134, 137, 138, ch. x. *passim*, 164, 165, 179, 240.
Innocent III., La Question d'Orient, 115.
Innocent IV., 167, 199 *ff.*, 209, 212, 215.
Instruction through Examples, 103.
Ipswich, 246.
Irish, 242.
Iron Bridge, the, 51, 56, 66.
Isaac II., Greek emperor, 118, 143.
— brother of, 147.
Ishmaelites, 99.
Islam, 16, 99 *ff.*, 107, 161, 176, 177, 180 *ff.*
Italians, 33, 37, 40, 93, 167, 179, 227, 237, 243.
Italian tongue, 224.
Italy, 13, 22, 23, 39, 41, 108, 118, 167, 179, 197, 199, 223, 242.

Jacob, a monk, 172.
Jaffa, 77, 93, 193, 194, 241.
James, St., 22, 23, 197.
Janissaries, 172.
Java, 222, 228.
Jerusalem, 15, 19 *n.*, 22, 27, 38, 41, 63, 70, 74 *ff.*, 91, 93, 103, 105–6, 114, 117, 119, 121, 123 *ff.*, 133 *ff.*, 152, 153, 161, 164 *ff.*, 172, 189, 190, 193, 197, 218, 238.
— Emir of, 78–9.
— kingdom of, 41, 82 *ff.*, 115, 159, 177.
Jesuits, 225.
Jews, 21–2, 28, 88, 157, 180, 184, 186, 187.
John, King of England, 93, 165.
John I., King of Portugal, 250.
John, St., Gospel of, 219.
John the Scot, 158.
John Zimisces, Eastern emperor, 14.
Joinville, 167, 173, 184, 186, 187, 209, 238 *n.*
Joshua, 133.
Judges, Book of, 133.
Juggernaut, 184.
Julian the Apostate, 66 *n.*
Justinian, Greek emperor, 51, 113 *n.*
Jutland, 197.
— Laws of, 238–9.

Karakorum, 215, 216, 218.
Kastur, 42.
Kephaliam, 75.
Kerboga, Emir of Mosul, 59, 64–5, 70.
Kherson, 210.
Khorassan, 15, 34, 226.
Kieff, 201, 202, 206.
Kin-sai, 230, 233 *ff.*
Ko family, 232.
Koran, 96 *ff.*, 108, 173.
"Krak des Chevaliers," 82, 91.
Kuan, 232.
Kuang family, 232.
Kublai Khan, 224 *ff.*, 230, 233 *ff.*
Ku-ssü, 232.
Kuyuk Khan, 204–5.

Lambert le Pauvre, 60.
Lamentations, 46 *n.*
Lanfranc, 13, 242.
Langres, Bishop of, 87.
Languedoc, 248.
La Rochelle, 246.
Lascaris, *see* Theodore.
Lasturs, 72 *n.*
— Gulfer de, 72.
Lateran Council, 156 *n.*, 162, 165, 178.
Latin, 41, 123 *n.*, 205, 224.
Latin Church, *see* Roman Church.
Latin Empire of Constantinople, 152 *ff.*, 180.
Lavisse, 192 *n.*, 242 *n.*
Legate, the Papal, 82, 92, 116, 122, 129, 134, 149, 152, 153, 155, 161–2, 201, 202, 206; *see also* Adhémar, Pelagius.
Leon, 13.
Le Puy, *see* Adhémar.
Lessing, 187.
Levant, 241, 246, 248.
Lewes, battle of, 122.
Lhasa, 222.
Lightfoot, Bishop, 174.
Limousin, 72 *n.*
Lincolnshire, 195.
Lindisfarne, 197.
Lisbon, 241.
Little Council of Venice, 125.
Lombards, 12, 33, 245.
Lombardy, 126.
London, 245.
Longjumeau, Andrew of, 209, 210.

Loos, Abbot of, 134.
Lorraine, 38.
— Baldwin, Duke of, 39.
Lot's wife, 131.
Louis, St., *see* Louis IX.
Louis VI., King of France, 9, 39.
Louis VII., King of France, 87 *ff.*, 178.
Louis IX., King of France, 114–5, 167 *ff.*, 184, 186, 199, 209 *ff.*, 218, 221.
Louis XIV., King of France, 179.
Low Countries, 243–4.
Lübeck, 239, 245, 246.
Luchaire, Achille, 23, 115, 121, 127, 138, 153, 155 *n.*, 158 *n.*, 162.
Luke, St., Gospel of, 133.
Lull, Raymond, 189.
Lynn, 245.
Lyons, 248.

MACCABEES, Book of, 133.
Macedonia, 89.
Machumaria, 58.
Madeira, 250.
Magyars, 12 *ff.*
Mainz, 28.
— Archbishop of, 22.
— Diet of, 92.
Malabar, 222, 235 *n.*
Malea, Cape, 138.
Malmesbury, 194.
Mamelukes, 172.
Mandoûd, 105.
Mangu Khan, 213, 216 *ff.*, 220–1.
Mansourah, 166 *ff.*
Maragh, 51.
Margat, 91.
Mark, St., 141–2.
— Cathedral of, in Venice, 124, 149.
Marra, 71, 74–5.
Marseilles, 126–7, 138, 164, 173, 241.
Martin, Abbot, 121.
Mary, the Virgin, 62–3, 106, 172.
— Church of, in Jerusalem, 76.
— Church of, at Soissons, 125.
Mass, 88, 124, 156, 161.
Mecca, 91, 106.
Medina, 91.
Mediterranean, the, 17, 117, 198, 239, 241, 243, 246.
Meloria, battle of, 241.
Melun, Viscount William of, 54.
Mercurius, St., 66.
Messiah, the, 106.
Messina, 93.
Michael, St., 23, 215.
Michael VII., Greek emperor, 15.
Mill, John Stuart, 112, 192.
Ming dynasty, 225.
Mohammad, *see* Abou.
Mohammed, 114, 117, 161, 184, 186, 212.
Mohammedanism, 19, 24.
Mohammedans, 14 *ff.*, 21, 58, 70, ch. VII. *passim*, 117, 166, 167, 177, 180, 182, 184, 186 *ff.*, 194, 237, 240, 245, 248; *see also* Arabs, Saracens, Turks.
Mongi Khan, 234.
Mongols, 172, 227.
Montbard, 109.
Monte Corvino, John of, 222, 225, 237.
Montferrat, Marquis of, 93; *see also* Boniface, Conrad.
Montfort, Simon de, 122, 130, 131, 134, 137.
Montmellon, Achard of, 75.
Montmirail, Renaud de, 122–3, 135.
Montpellier, 241, 248.
— William of, 71.
Morocco, Straits of, 127.
Morosini, 152 *ff.*
Mortmain, Statute of, 155.
Morveil, Bernard de, 126.
Moses, 164.
Mosul, 226; *see also* Kerboga.
Mouin, Emir, 106.
Moule, A. C., 230 *n.*
Mounkidh, *see* Mourschid.
Mourschid, Prince of Schaïzar, 95 *ff.*, 108.
Moysson, 30.
Murzufle, 146, 147.

NANKING, 222.
Naples, 13, 237.
— Charles, King of, 169.
Napoleon, 23, 179, 248.
Narbonne, 241, 242.
— Archbishop of, 242.
Nathan the Wise, 187.
Navarre, 13.
— King of, 173.

Navigator, Prince Henry the, 229, 250.
Nazareth, 166, 172.
Negropont, 228.
Nemours, Count of, 169.
Neopatras, Archbishop of, 155 *n.*
Nestorians, 218 *ff.*
Neuilly, Foulques de, 121–2, 125.
Neustria, 14.
New China Review, 230 *n.*
New Testament, 99.
Nicæa, 33, 35, 44 *ff.*, 55, 63, 75, 177.
Nicene Creed, 156.
Nicephorus Phocas, Greek emperor, 14.
Nicetas, 144 *n.*, 148 *ff.*, 154.
Nicholas, a friar, 224–5.
Nicholas, leader of Children's Crusade, 164.
Nicholas IV., 224.
Nicolas, St., 126.
Nicomedia, 33.
Nile, R., 165, 166, 169.
Noah, 159.
Nogent, *see* Guibert.
Norfolk, 194.
Norman Conquest, 13.
Normandy, 39.
— Duke of, 238.
— Robert of, 26 *n.*, 39, 63, 67, 76, 79, 85.
Normans, 12 *ff.*, 20, 22, 40, 41, 67, 109, 184.
Northmen, 92.
North Sea, 243.
Norway, 245.
Norwich, 246.
Nuncio, the Papal, 134.
Nuremberg, 69 *n.*

Odoric, 205 *n.*, 229, 230, 236, 237.
Oldenburg, Wilbrand of, 241.
Oléron, Laws of, 238, 239.
Orange, Bishop of, 72.
Orontes, R., 51, 102.
Ostia, 118.
Otranto, 40.
Otto III., Emperor, 13.
Ottoman Turks, 177.
Ousâma, ch. VII. *passim*.
Oxford, 113 *n.*
Oxus, R., 226.

Paderborn, Bishop of, 242.
Padua, friary of S. Antonio at, 223.
Pairis, Günther of, 137, 147, 148.
Palermo, 237.
Palestine, 22, 87, 114, 117, 133, 143, 166, 167, 186, 187, 189.
Palestinians, 85.
Pamirs, 226.
Papacy, 14, 119, 159, 206 *n.*; *see also* Roman Church, Roman See.
Papal See, *see* Roman See.
Paris, 9, 109, 162, 199, 210.
— William of, 217.
Parma, 199.
Pastoureaux, 172.
Patriarch, the, of Antioch, 51.
— the, of Jerusalem, 79.
— of Constantinople, 152 *ff.*
Patzinaks, 43.
Paul, St., 201.
Paulicians, 47.
Peking, 222, 224, 225.
Pelagius, 156–7, 158, 165.
Pelagonia, 42.
P'êng family, 232.
Penniless, *see* Walter.
Pero, *see* Tafur.
Persia, 209, 223, 227.
Persian Gulf, 222.
Persians, 47, 66.
Peter, St., 51, 62 *ff.*, 159, 195.
Peter the Hermit, 25 *ff.*, 43, 44, 54, 64–5, 74 *n.*, 121, 190.
Petit-Dutaillis, 248.
Philip Augustus, King of France, 91 *ff.*, 162, 178.
Philippa, 250.
Philippopolis, 89.
Phocas, *see* Nicephorus.
Piacenza, Council of, 15, 44.
Piano Carpine, John of, 199 *ff.*, 209, 210, 212, 218, 237.
Picardy, 122.
Pileto, Raymond, 76.
Pisa, 74, 189, 224, 246; *see also* Rusticiano.
Pisans, 13.
Pitt, William, 20.
Poland, 245.
— Benedict of, 201–2.
Poli, ovis, 226.
Polo, Maffeo, 225, 227.
— Marco, 185, 186, 225 *ff.*, 237.
— Nicolo, 225, 226, 227.

Polonia, 206.
Pordenone, Odoric of, 222 *ff.*
Port St. Simeon, 60.
Portugal, 197.
— King of, 242 *n.*; *see also* Navigator.
Premonstratensian Order, 162.
Prémontré, Abbot of, 179.
Protestantism, 176.
Protomartyr, *see* Stephen, St.
Provençals, 37, 78 *n.*, 79.
Provence, 126.
— Count of, 56, 57.

Radicals, 112.
Rainald, 33, 34.
Raleigh, 18.
Ramah, 75.
Rambaud, 192 *n.*
Ravenna, 118.
Red Sea, 91.
Reformation, 191, 197, 225.
Reims, 85.
Renaissance, 12, 191.
Rhine, R., 243.
Rhineland, 31, 88, 164.
Richard I., King of England, 92, 121, 178, 238.
Richard II., King of England, 246.
Riga, 239.
Rochetaillée, 248.
Roman Church, 21, 24, 83, 102, 115, 119, 138, 147, 153 *ff.*, 158, 208, 214 *n.*
Roman Empire, 12, 159, 160, 178, 205.
Roman See, 120, 121, 132, 136, 151, 155; *see also* Papacy.
Romania, 33, 159.
— Marshal of, 122.
Romans, 85.
Romanus IV., Greek emperor, 15.
Rome, 38, 111, 113 *n.*, 121, 125, 132, 137, 152, 165, 180, 197.
Roudwan, 102.
Roum, kingdom of, 33 *n.*, 55.
Roussillon, Count of, 42.
Rubrouck, William of, 205 *n.*, ch. XIV. *passim*, 222, 226, 237.
Rubruquis, *see* Rubrouck.
Rudolf, a monk, 88.
Russia, 202, 204 *ff.*, 225.
Rusticiano of Pisa, 229.

Saewulf, 193–4.
Sagres, 250.
St. Andrews, 195.
St. Cher, Hugues de, 206.
St. Denis, 121.
— Abbot of, 185.
— Gauthier of, 126.
— Hugh of, 126.
St. Pol, Count of, 148.
St. Urbain, 173.
Saladin, 91, 104, 114, 117, 172, 184, 240, 241.
Saladin Tithe, 178.
Salimbene, 114, 175, 199 *ff.*
Saracens, 12, 13, 37, 47, 48, 59, 72, 75, 77–8, 83 *ff.*, 106–7, 114, 117–8, 127, 133, 160, 169–70, 174, 183 *n.*, 185, 186, 211, 212, 220, 240 *ff.*; *see also* Arabs, Mohammedans, Turks.
"Saracen" tongue, 204, 206.
Sardinia, 13.
Sargines, Sir Geoffrey de, 170.
Sartach, 209, 211 *ff.*
Satan, 57, 107.
Saxons, 241.
Saxony, 243.
— Rudolf of, 242.
Scandinavia, 243.
Schaïzar, 95, 97–8, 104.
Sclavonia, 135.
Scotland, 195 *ff.*
Scott, Sir Walter, 104.
Scutari, 139.
Seignobos, Charles, 93.
Seine, R., 35.
Seljukian Turks, 14, 49, 177.
Sem, 75.
Semlin, 30.
Sermon on the Mount, 192.
Shamanists, 215 *n.*
Shou-tz'ŭ Palace, 232.
Sicily, 13, 93, 118, 182, 184.
— Roger of, 40, 42, 89.
Sidon, 75, 166.
Siloam, 76.
Sion, Mt., 76.
Slavs, 12, 13, 87.
Soissons, 123, 125.
Soliman, prince of the Seljuks, 33 *n.*, 50.
Solomon, *Proverbs* of, 20.
— Temple of, 77, 190.
Sombart, Werner, 198.

Sophia, Sta., 143, 148, 154, 155.
Sorel, Agnes, 249.
Soudan, 237.
Southern Hemisphere, 215 *n.*
Spain, 13, 37, 54 *n.*, 102, 179, 180 *ff.*, 243.
— King of, 228.
Spalato, 165.
Spaniards, 18, 242 *n.*, 243.
Spanish Main, 18.
Speyer, 28.
— Diet of, 88.
Steelyard, 245.
Stephen, leader of Children's Crusade, 164, 165.
Stephen I., King of Hungary, 13.
Stephen, St., the Protomartyr, 76.
Stockholm, 245.
Storms, Cape of, 250.
Suabia, Philip of, 119–20, 134.
— Rodolph of, 38.
Sudak, 210.
Suger, 90.
Sultan, the, 70, 79, 140, 166, 172 *ff.*, 189, 241, 249.
Sultanieh, 222.
Sumatra, 222.
Sweden, 245.
Sylvester II., 9.
Syria, 17, 33 *n.*, 51, 85, 87, 94, 102, 106, 115, 127, 128, 134 *ff.*, 167, 170, 175, 189, 191, 238.
Syriac, 212.
Syrians, 48, 52, 54, 56, 57, 165.

Tabriz, 222, 223.
Tacitus, 161.
Tafur, Pero, 69 *n.*
— *Travels* of, 69 *n.*
Tai-tu, 230.
Talisman, the, 104.
Tancred, 26 *n.*, 40, 43, 44, 54, 58, 63, 66, 76, 78, 97, 104.
Tarentum, *see* Bohemond.
Tartars, 186, 201 *ff.*, ch. XIV. *passim*, 224, 225 *ff.*, 233 *ff.*
Tartary, 218; *see also* Tartars.
Tatikios, 55.
Taurus range, 51, 92.
Templars, 82, 106, 121 *n.*, 166, 170.
— Grand Master of, 91.
Tescelin, 109.
Teutonic Knights, 177, 243.
Thau-cross, 165.
Theodore Lascaris, Greek emperor, 158.
Theodosius, Column of, 147.
Thomas, St., of Canterbury, 23.
Thrace, 30.
Tiberias, 91, 104.
Tibet, 177, 216, 222.
Toulouse, Raymond, Count of, 37, 39, 43 *ff.*, 63, 67, 71, 76 *ff.*, 83.
Tourab, *see* Abou.
Tournai, Lethold of, 77.
Tramünd, 239.
Trapani, 174.
Trebizond, 222, 228.
Trèves, 28.
Tripoli, 67, 75, 83, 91.
Tristan, son of Louis IX., 174.
Trois-Fontaines, Alberic of, 137.
Trossel, Guy, 60.
Troyes, 39.
Truce of God, 10, 20, 109.
True Cross, 93, 165.
Tudela, Benjamin of, 140, 141 *n.*, 237, 242.
Tunis, 183 *n.*, 189.
— Bey of, 174.
Turcopules, 43, 83.
Turin, Raymond of, 76.
Turkestan, 225.
Turks, 15, 17, 30, 33 *ff.*, 44 *ff.*, 49 *ff.*, 71, 74 *n.*, 90, 92, 108, 124, 149, 160, 172, 185, 249; *see also* Arabs, Mohammedans, Saracens, Seljukian.
Twelfth-night, 189.
Tyre, 75, 85, 91, 166.

Udine, 224.
Ukraine, 202.
Uniates, 155.
Urach, Ekkehard of, 19.
Ural, R., 213.
Urban II., 9 *ff.*, 17, 20, 24, 27, 37, 109, 117, 129.

Varangian Guard, 141 *n.*
Vardar, R., 42.
Vaux-de-Cernai, Abbot of, 135.
Vendôme, 164.
Venetians, 18, 124, ch. IX. *passim*, 141, 144, 147 *ff.*, 153 *ff.*, 159 *n.*, 174, 225 *ff.*, 228–9.
Venice, 121, 123 *ff.*, ch. IX. *passim*, 159, 225, 228–9, 240–1, 245, 246.

Verdun, 28.
Vermandois, Hugh, Count of, 39, 44, 47, 54 *n.*, 66.
Vézelay, 87.
Vicar of Jerusalem, 79 *n.*
Vienne, Council of, 189.
Villehardouin, Geoffroi de, Marshal of Champagne, 103, 122 *ff.*, ch. IX. *passim*, 146, 147, 155 *n.*
Villeneuve-sur-Cher, 172.
Villers, Jean de, 126.
Vincent, Cape St., 250.
Volga, R., 204, 212, 213.

Wa, Middle, 231.
Walpole, 194.
Walsingham, 180.
Walter the Penniless, 27 *ff.*, 44.
Wars of the Roses, 177.
West Lake, the, 232, 233.
West School, 232.
Wilbrand, *see* Oldenburg.
William I., King of England, 13, 39.
Wisby, 245.
— Laws of, 238.
Wonders of the Capital, the, 231.
Worcester, 193, 242.
Worms, 28.
Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, 193, 242.
Wunderer, J. D., 239.
Wyclif, 242.

Yangchow, 227.
Yarmouth, 246.
York, 246.
Yousouf, 101.
Yuan Hsiao, 231.
Yule, 218.
Yves, 184.

Zara, 128 *ff.*, 134, 135, 137, 152, 161, 246.
Zenghi, 87.
Zimisces, *see* John.
Zwin, 243, 245.

THE END

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE PRESS OF THE PUBLISHERS

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

To-day it would appear that we are feeling our way towards a new method of teaching history in schools and colleges. The defect of the old system was that history was apt to be taught as a bare scheme of dates and dynasties, a thing without any true "application." When it was taught in greater detail in short periods, these periods were not linked up with any general historical scheme, and so tended to be episodic and unrelated.

A teacher of history must aim at providing the pupil with a conspectus of large-scale historical movements, and at the same time, by a series of linked epochs, clothe the bones for him in flesh and blood. The past must be presented as a living thing, so that the student can realize that its inhabitants had the same varied interests as he has himself; and at the same time he must have clearly in his head the sequence by which history has moved from its early beginnings to his own day. He must understand that the life of former ages was not merely dynastic and political, but economic, social, literary, and artistic. He must be enabled, imaginatively, to live again in earlier epochs, and at the same time he must be given a bird's-eye view of the processes of time.

It is proposed that this series should be divided into three parts: (1) the History of Britain, (2) the History of Europe, and (3) an Outline of General History. In sections 1 and 2 the scheme is for a general outline in two volumes, followed by a sequence of epochs grouped around some determining movement or personality. The epochs taken together will form a continuous history

of British and European life. The aim has been to divide the past into tracts of time which have a real unity and significance, for much of the present subdivision of history is arbitrary and unscientific. The division is roughly chronological, but there is no arbitrary length for each epoch. One may cover several centuries and another a bare twenty-five years.

Each epoch will be treated not merely from the political and military standpoints, but also from the social, economic, and cultural. Even in the British section the treatment will not be insular. Modern educational programmes lay stress on the connection at all points of British history with that of the world outside. The old teaching of national history was apt to give a false perspective. It is necessary, when British history is taught, to make it clear that Britain was a province of Christendom, and that all our civilization arose from the known antiquity of two thousand years ago. The history of Britain can only be understood when it is studied in relation to the history of Europe and of the world.

The aim in the British group is to give in each volume a picture of how our ancestors lived in a particular epoch, what their thoughts were, what were the influences in their lives, and what living and permanent movements and institutions that epoch contributed to the story of Britain. In the European group the same purpose will be followed, but the epochs will not have the elaboration of the British group. It is hoped that the three groups taken together will provide material for an intelligent and balanced understanding of the past.

JOHN BUCHAN.

For a List of the Series see overleaf.

NELSON'S TEACHING OF HISTORY SERIES

General Editor: JOHN BUCHAN

The following volumes are now ready:

Cloth gilt.

Nos. 1 and 2. A GENERAL SURVEY OF BRITISH HISTORY. By ROBERT S. RAIT, C.B.E., LL.D., Principal of Glasgow University.

Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to 1603.

Vol. II. From 1603 to 1924.

No. 5. THE AGE OF THE NORMANS. By DAVID C. DOUGLAS.

No. 8. THE MAKING OF THE TUDOR DESPOTISM. By C. H. WILLIAMS, M.A.

No. 9. THE AGE OF ELIZABETH. By ANDREW BROWNING, M.A.

No. 11. COMMONWEALTH AND RESTORATION. By A. S. TURBERVILLE, M.A.

No. 12. THE AGE OF QUEEN ANNE. By A. C. WOOD, M.A.

No. 31. NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE. By R. B. MOWAT, M.A.

Other Volumes in Active Preparation.
The Series will contain 32 Volumes.

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, Ltd.
London, Edinburgh, and New York

SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Boulogne
Bruges
BRABANT
Amiens
Tournai
1
2
Bouillon
3
Paris
Seine
LORRAINE
Vendôme
Troyes
KINGDOM
Loire
Vézelay
Bourges
DF
Dijon
La Rochelle
FRANCE
4 Clermont
Lyons
BURGUNDY
ROMAN
C. Finisterre
Compostella
5
Toulouse
Rhone
Turin
Avignon
PROVENCE
Piacenza
LEON
NAVARRE
6
Narbonne
Montpellier
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
ARAGON
CORSICA
Tagus
Barcelona
Lisbon
SARDINIA
Cordova
MOORS
MEDI
Straits of Morocco
Ceuta
MOORS

The general position of certain divisions in France are numbered thus:-
1 Picardy & Vermandois
2 Valois
3 Champagne
4 Limousin
5 Gascony
6 Languedoc
Kn OF SWEDEN
MARK
BALTIC SEA
G.D. OF LITHUANIA
Dvina
PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Vistula
Oder
Dnieper
AUSTRIA
Vienna
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
SCLAVONIA
RUMANIA
Danube
BULGARIA
Venice
Ravenna
Zara
Spalato
SERVIA
Constantinople
Scutari
Nicomedia
Hadrianople
EAST ROMAN
EMPIRE
Nicaea
Ancona
Ossia
Antivari
Durazzo
Brindisi
ALBANIA
PELAGONIA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Amalfi
Tarentum
Otranto
Corfu
Palermo
C. Malea
CANDIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

KS-554-197